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## MAHATMA GANDHI AS A PACIFIST

S. Y. HADIMANI

In this article the term 'PACIFISM' is analysed and an attempt has been made to assess the role of Gandhiji as a pacifist in South Africa and in India. Was Gandhiji a pacifist? What were the influences that prompted Gandhiji to become a pacifist? Did he successfully fight for the restoration of pacifism in India? There are scores of such questions demanding systematic answers. This paper attempts to throw some light on Gandhiji's technique of pacifism, with reference to the major events and the results of his attempts in this field. Gandhiji was undoubtedly a great man with a great insight. He had the unique distinction of converting the minds of his enemies to his own thinking. This fact is to be noticed in the change of mind that took place in no less a person than General Smuts.

Though unarmed, Gandhiji proved stronger than the whole army of the British nation whether in South Africa or in India. The credit goes to Gandhiji for making the doctrine of pacifism a powerful weapon against colonialism, racial discrimination and socio-economic inequalities. It enabled him to oust the British rulers from India. Undoubtedly he had the greatest influence on the development of pacifist thought throughout the world in the mid-twentieth century.

Pacifism is not a modern idea ; it is, in a way, as old as recorded history. The general outlook of pacifism represents a long history dating back to 7th and 6th century B. C. But as a modern concept, pacifism became a popular term at the time of the First World War, being associated with efforts against the war. Many religious bodies accepted this concept as their sole criterion for the abolition of war. In ancient India the Buddhist principle of *Ahimsa*, and in China, 'Universal love' of Taoism are the source for the western minority sects like, Waldenians, Bohemians, Anabaptists, Mennonites and Christians who were and are still engaged in the development of pacifism. The contention of the true pacifist is that to bear arms in a war is always

bad for the development of the world. "It is certainly true that no positive civilization, no just social order or stable peace, can flow from violence, war and repression. A true social order must be based upon persuasion, conviction, and a positive will to cooperation and fellowship among men. These are the only bonds which can hold society together with any permanence and to any real advantage."<sup>1</sup> Every pacifist knows that there can be change of character or conduct through change of ideas. Gandhiji never changed his ideas about truth and realization of God. But some writers have criticised Gandhiji that he was not always consistent. To them Gandhiji replied "At the time of writing I never think of what I have said before. My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements on a given question, but to be consistent with truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result has been that I have grown from truth to truth."<sup>2</sup> To secure justice, one has to be consistent, fearless and adhere to truth. With his firm and fearless determination Gandhiji mobilised the people of India in South Africa and later in India towards 'direct action'. In this 'direct action' Gandhiji used non-violence in selfdefense at the individual level, and later he proved to the world that nonviolence can be used equally effective at the level of collective action also. He never failed to point out that, in his opinion non-violent resistance was the best way. "In my opinion, non-violence as I understand it, is the most active force in the world..... It is the acid-test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict, there is no rancour left behind and in the end the enemies are converted into friends. That was my experience with Gen. Smuts."<sup>3</sup>

Pacifism has no specific connotation. Different people at different times have applied this concept according to their temperament and beliefs. When the term came into general use during the First World War, it was primarily associated with opposition to conventional war. It has recently been replaced by the term 'non-violence'. According to the Concise Dictionary, pacifism is "the doctrine that the abolition of war is both desirable and possible." Gene Sharp defines pacifism as "a belief system of those who, as a minimum, refuse participation in all wars on moral, ethical or religious principles."<sup>4</sup> Giving a clear idea about pacifism C. J. Cadaux says "The word is not, however, used—save as a controversial *tour de force*—for a simple love of peace. It

1 John Lewis : *The Case Against Pacifism*, London, 1949, p. 14.

2 *Harijan* - 30 - 9 - 1 39.

3 Adi H. Doctor- "Some Misconceptions Removed"; *United Asia*, Vol. 20, No. 5, 1958, p. 260.

4 Quoted in *Gandhi Marga*; July 1976, pp. 175-186.



normally designates some form of strong ethical disapproval of war and some form of refusal to participate in it... but it was with Christianity that definite personal pacifism may be said first to have become a living reality.”<sup>1</sup> Aldous Huxley says “constructive pacifism is more than a mere objection to war; it is a complete philosophy of life, and as such has important political, sociological and economic implications.”<sup>2</sup> Many thinkers and philosophers have given different opinions about pacifism. The French call it anti-militarism, and the Greek stoics and Cynics condemned the aggression of Babylonians as immoral and advised them to pledge to remain passive, and they adopted the pacifist policy. To be precise, “The main purpose of pacifism is not to save the individual from sin, but society from self-destruction. To make more pacifists and to strengthen the understanding and resolution of those who are pacifists is the primary duty of the pacifist in peace time.”<sup>3</sup>

As mentioned earlier, pacifism has a long history. The general contention of pacifism in ancient world was love of peace and repugnance towards the use of armed forces. During the inter-war period it became popular as one of the strong beliefs of leaders like Middleton, Murray, Macaulay, C. E. M. Joad and others, who rejected war as a total evil. Before and during the First World War, people regarded military service as a natural obligation, and to defend their nation was their birth right. Most part of the European continent was under this tension, except Britain and the United States. The middle classes of these countries decided to remain aloof from war on some religious and personal grounds. And in course of time they united and formed an organization to spread pacifism.

In Asia, India and China are the most important countries in spreading pacifism. Even before Christianity, Buddhism and Taoism expounded the doctrine of pacifism. Buddha, the founder of Buddhism demanded from his followers absolute abstention from any act of violence against their fellow-creatures. Ashoka, the great king of Kalinga, relinquished his idea of conquering the world and surrendered his weapons by accepting the Buddhist principle of *Ahimsa*, as realization of God. “Buddha”, says Mr. Warren, “was full of tact, and all his ways were ways of peace.... Anger had no place in his character.... and it had equally none in his religio-philosophic system.”<sup>4</sup>

1 Chamber's Encyclopaedia- Vol. x, London, 1950, pp. 304-5.

2 Aldous Huxley- *An Encyclopaedia of Pacifism*, 1937, p. 39.

3 J. M. Murray- *The Necessity of Pacifism*, London, 1937, p. 112.

4 Warren H. C. - *Buddhism in Translations*, Vol. VII. Harvard, p. 1



In China Lao-Tze the contemporary of Confucius who founded the Taoism was a mystic. He was more sentimental than Confucius. His teachings were universal and more benevolent. He believed in the true nobility of returning good for evil.

In the Western world there are no authenticated traces of pacifism prior to the rise of Christianity. But they were practicing pacifism according to their own principle and tradition. People were opposing participation in war either on personal or on religious grounds. "The Anabaptists in Germany, the Mennonites in Holland, the Polish Brethren and Socinians in Poland, the Moravian Brethren in Bohemian countries, and the Quakers in England were the most important sects which were inspired by this conviction."<sup>1</sup> Some sects not only rejected participation in war but also in payment of tax towards maintaining soldiers. When Christianity was progressing, it developed the doctrine of pacifism. Many great Christian thinkers like Thoreau, Ruskin, Tolstoy and others influenced the masses through their writings and speeches and during the inter-war period, pacifism as a rational and political concept impressed the public through the writings of Aldous Huxley, J. M. Murray and others. 'Resist not evil' doctrine of the Christ was the religious basis for Christian writers and other thinkers for the propagation of pacifism. Still there are 'War Resisters' in western countries and in India also. Pacifism became popular and attempts were made to create pacific feeling and thinking among the people.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the renowned mass leader of India, emerged as one of the great twentieth century pacifists. In 1939, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday a western admirer greeted him as "the greatest living exponent of successful pacifism."<sup>2</sup> Mulford Sibley one of the great pacifists said; "the greatest pacifist figure of the twentieth century has been Mohandas K. Gandhi who combined in his views and practices both religious and utilitarian notes."<sup>3</sup> The Hindu scriptures like, *Upanishads* and the *Gita*, the Christian doctrine of 'Resist not evil'; and writings of thinkers like Tolstoy and Ruskin inspired Gandhi to accomplish pacifist objectives.

Gandhiji, who became one of the first significant pacifists after Buddha in India, was influenced by the Indian Epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Every evening he used to listen to *Ramayana* when his father

1 Fredrick Hertz - *Nationality in History and Practice*, London, 1951, p. 309.

2 Radhakrishnan S. (Ed.) - *Mahatma Gandhi*, London, 1948, p. 123.

3 *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 11, 1968. pp. 353 - 57.



was on sick bed. He was impressed very much by its devotional literature. The *Mahabharata* which strongly advocates *Ahimsa* sowed the seed of kindliness, forgiveness, and peacefulness in Gandhiji's mind. The *Gita* which is a part of *Mahabharata* with its main theme of truth and realization moulded Gandhiji's life. He first read *Gita* in England with his two Theosophist friends and remarked: "the book struck me as one of priceless worth. The impression has ever since been growing on me with the result that I regard it to-day as the book *par excellence* for the knowledge of Truth. It has afforded me invaluable help in my moments of gloom."<sup>1</sup> *Ahimsa* (noninjury to any living creature) of Buddhism, Jainism and Hindu religion was transformed from personal duty to politico-social duty by Gandhiji through his *Satyagraha* technique as an instrument of social change.

Apart from these, Gandhiji was influenced by some great pacifists. Among them, he mentions Tolstoy, Thoreau and Ruskin. Thoreau, the well-known American anarchist, refused to pay taxes and preferred to go to jail. His famous essay "Civil Disobedience" impressed Gandhiji and he profitted from it during his movement against racial discrimination in South Africa. In a letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Gandhiji stated; 'I have profitted greatly by the writings of Thoreau and Emerson' and appreciated their teachings.

'*Unto This Last*' of Ruskin has been one of the transforming influences on Gandhiji. Gandhiji resembles Ruskin in several aspects. He grasped the heroic and military ideas of Ruskin in his effort in the creation of peaceful channels for reaching the desired goals. He himself admitted that "I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captured me and made me transform life."<sup>2</sup>

Gandhiji's ideas are closer to Tolstoy's rather than those of Thoreau and Ruskin. 'The Kingdom of God Is Within You' immensely impressed Gandhiji. Tolstoy wrote a letter to Gandhiji on 7th September 1910 appreciating his work in South Africa for the Indians. As a devoted admirer, Gandhiji owed much in his life to Tolstoy: "Next to the late Rajachandra (whom Gandhiji regarded as his religious teacher), Tolstoy is one of the three moderns who have exerted the greatest spiritual influence on my life, the third being Ruskin."<sup>3</sup> So he gave more importance to Tolstoy and formed the 'Tolstoy Farm' in South Africa.

1 M. K. Gandhi - *Autobiography*, Ahmedabad, 1972, p. 50.

2 *Ibid*, p. 224.

3 *Young India* - III, p. 843.



Gandhiji was also influenced by the Buddhist principle of *Ahimsa*, fraternity of Hinduism and peaceful non-resistance of Christianity. With these three historic sources Gandhiji impressed the idea of non-violence on the minds of people during the freedom movement in India, and on the other hand, he advocated that to adopt non-violence one has to be courageous. Cowardice has no place in the operation of non-violence. Mere passive submission is nothing but death for a *satyagrahi*. So he strongly appealed to *satyagrahis* to have courage. He considered violence preferable to cowardice and said 'if there is a choice between cowardice and violence, I prefer violence.' *Satyagraha* became a powerful weapon of courageous and brave men. A real pacifist is an ardent lover of peace at all times and at all levels. Hence, Gandhiji adopted the peaceful principles of all religions and cultures, and accepted and practised pacifism as a way of life.

The germ of social protest in Gandhiji was first evident in South Africa, while he was travelling from Durban to Pretoria. A police constable dragged him from the first class saloon and kept him out of the compartment. As it was winter he was shivering with cold and had to stand it to fight for Indians. At this critical juncture, he says, "I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India, or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insults, and return to India after finishing the case? It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial - only a symptom of the deep disease and suffer hardships in the process."<sup>1</sup> The moral sensibility of peaceful objection kindled in his mind, and he decided to fight for the cause-justice for Indians.

Another incident took place when Gandhiji landed at Natal. Soon after his arrival there, the captain of the ship requested Gandhiji not to get down as he had received a letter from Mr. Escomb to escort him. A friend of Gandhiji persuaded the captain and assured him that he could escort Gandhi up to Dada Abdulla's house. On the way a small group of men shouting abusive and harsh words, suddenly attacked Gandhiji and threw stones and rotten eggs at his face. His friend requested Gandhiji to run away from that place. But he rejected the suggestion with a dry laugh and said "why should I run? It is foolishness to fear so much for the safety of one's life. These erring brothers of mine will surely some day realise their mistake and repent."<sup>2</sup> What

1 *Autobiography*- p. 82.

2 Jain R. C.- *Mahatma Gandhiji's First Experiment*, Delhi, (n. d), p. 40.



a staunch pacifist he was! No doubt the real attitude of a true pacifist is to remain unperturbed and face violence with peace and courage. The possession of moral courage is most important. This fraternal affection of Gandhiji towards the aggressors shows his real attachment to pacifism. If he were to run away or to react with violence he could not have become a '*Mahatma*' to the Indians and to the world. He stayed on and stuck fast to truth and courage, willingly accepted pain and suffering for the welfare of the Indians. Even the great task-master Gen. Smuts congratulated Gandhiji for his success in his passive resistance movement in South Africa. The 'Black Law' as it was called by Indians was repealed and other social rights were restored. While Gandhiji was preparing for leaving South Africa he gave a pair of shoes to Gen. Smuts as his small presentation for his help during the movement. But the racial problem is still rampant in South Africa. Indians in South Africa are desperate. Therefore, it is the duty of our people and the government to go to their rescue in the true Gandhian spirit.

Gandhiji became a subject of criticism when he helped the British in Boer War of 1897 and served in the Peace Corps in the Zulu War of 1906. The Belgian pacifist Mr. Bart De Light criticised his intervention in the war sacrificing pacifism for the sake of winning the hearts of the English. "Everywhere those who oppose violence, whether horizontal or vertical, are rigourously persecuted. And if Gandhi has been able more or less to gain the confidence of a certain section of the English bourgeoisie, it is just because, at certain critical moments, he renounced his pacifism in order to take part in the colonial and national wars of the British"<sup>1</sup> Answering Mr. Bart De Light Gandhiji explained "I would therefore urge Mr. De Light and other fellow-war resisters not to mind my faulty or incomplete argument and still less to mind my participation in war which they may be unable to reconcile with my professions about war. Let them understand me to be uncompromisingly against all wars. If they cannot appreciate my argument let them impute my participation to unconscious weakness. For I would feel extremely sorry to discover that my action was used by anyone to justify war under certain conditions."<sup>2</sup> At critical moments of the British he forgot the differences between him and the British. As a humanitarian he served in the war. For this help he received a letter of thanks and medals from Natal Government. Violence has no goal at all. One who wants to achieve the welfare of others or society, peace

1 Bart De Light- *The Conquest of Violence*, London, 1937, p. 101.

2 Adi H. Doctor- "Some Misconceptions Removed" *United Asia*, Vol. 20, 1958, pp. 259-61.

or any thing which make them happy, has to follow truth, non-violence and principle of fraternity. Society constructed on lust and violence cannot sustain itself. It should educate the people to behave in a non-violent way. Hence, Gandhiji with this principle of non-violence achieved what he wanted. What he did in South Africa was an experiment in non-violence as a strategy. His determined pacifist attitude changed the minds of South African leaders and obtained rights for Indians, which they actually wanted to enjoy. This early achievement of his put Gandhiji among the galaxy of world pacifists.

After the completion of his marathon task in South Africa Gandhiji came to India in 1915. His arrival in India electrified some leaders of the Indian National Congress. They wanted Gandhiji's interference in the freedom movement. After the death of Gokhale, no recognised leader was there to fight for '*Swaraj*'. Those who were aware of Gandhiji's non-violence and passive resistance wanted Gandhiji to lead the Indian '*Swaraj*' movement. But the revolutionary group which believed in violent method opposed his leadership. The Indian masses, who were untrained in violent methods and arms, accepted the non-violent movement of Gandhiji and made him their leader. His first mass movement was at Champaran in 1917. It was a bold experiment with truth and ahimsa.

This non-violent movement of Champaran proved that Gandhiji is a great apostle of non-violence and peace, and through it he entered the Indian political arena. Those who accepted violence and war, regarded not only material destruction but the mutilation of human personality, supported Gandhiji's non-violent principle. The tragedy of Jallianwallabag perturbed Gandhiji's mind. To crush the violent activities in Punjab and other places, Gandhiji introduced the non-cooperation movement. It was in response to the British Government's violent attitude towards Indians. With the practice of this policy of peaceful withdrawal, the government was paralysed and *Satyagrahis* were arrested. Gandhiji who was solely responsible for the movement was put into jail. He never reacted in a violent mood towards government. When suddenly violence broke out, he ordered the suspension of the movement. He never gave room for violence in individual or in mass movements. This act of Gandhiji has been criticised by many political leaders as he was not permitting a revolt. But as a true believer in truth and non-violence he could never allow people to do so.

Again in 1930-32, Gandhiji launched the Civil Disobedience Movement. This was wider in scope than the non-cooperation



movement, more aggressive and had a stronger sanction behind it. It was comprehensive enough to make the case for 'Swaraj' stronger. He suspended the non-cooperation movement because people at that time were not ready to accept non-violent method. But the people were more mature than before at the time of launching the Civil Disobedience Movement. This non-violent Civil Disobedience included breaking the salt-tax laws; general tax laws, no-rent compaigns, laws prohibiting mass meetings etc. Gandhiji contended that to be effective large number of individuals should participate in it. And accordingly it became an effective movement. One more broad-based movement was the 'Quit India' movement launched in 1942. The Congress Working Committee passed resolutions demanding the withdrawal of foreign rule from India. Gandhiji called for mass non-cooperation. Leaders including Gandhiji were arrested and put behind bars. Negotiations took place between the Indian leaders and the British rulers which culminated in the liberation of India in 1947. Thus the non-violent approach of Gandhiji persuaded the iron-willed Britishers to leave India transferring power to Indians as rulers of their own nation.

Soon after independence, communal riots broke out in Eastern and Northern India. Gandhiji as a believer in all religions announced his 'fast unto death', demanding the immediate cessation of communal hostilities. But a fanatical Hindu of Maharashtra claimed his life on 30th of January 1948. This tragic end of a great pacifist of the modern world caused an unbearable loss to the world and particularly, Indians who respected him as 'Mahatma'.

To conclude, Gandhiji's philosophy of pacifism was fully expressed in the twin-principles of Truth and Non-violence, out of which he evolved the weapon of satyagraha. As a Messiah of a new approach, he discovered and practised the doctrine of human love and progress. He wanted to turn the clash of interests into a powerful conversion of wrong into right through love. Indeed he was the first to believe and put to test the theory that love can conquer even organised violence. John W. Rogers, a western pacifist hailed "Gandhiji, the Apostle of *Ahimsa*, is God's answer to man's problems. Gandhi has been, and is many things to many people; comforter, revolutionary and redeemer. The measure of success of this prophet of the Atomic Age is calculable in terms of the satisfying quantum of individual happiness as it is definable in the totality of its contribution to world peace. Gandhi fulfilled in many ways the many needs of mankind." <sup>1</sup>

1 *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, 2nd October, 1966.

Thus Gandhiji, has undoubtedly had the greatest influence on the development of pacifist thought throughout the world in the mid-twentieth century. He gave a universal spiritual significance to satyagraha and non-violence. His role as teacher and practical reformer made a remarkable impact on the world. Without ever holding any political or academic office, possessing any wealth or directing any economic enterprise, he has done more to change the world than any other man of this century. His services to the Indian minorities in South Africa, to the liberation of India from British rule and for the emancipation of the peasants of India, constitute his notable achievements. The more important contribution is that he emphasised the method of non-violence, the way of love and self-sacrifice to liberate people from oppression. This is his greatest achievement.

After the death of Gandhiji, Vinoba Bhave, the 'Sarvodaya' leader followed the principles of Gandhian non-violence. He formed a non-violent 'Peace Army' (*Shanti Sena*) with the objective of finding non-violent solutions to conflict situations in India. The volunteers of the 'Sena' were to act strictly on the principle of *Ahimsa* and the basic object was to engage in constructive programmes. The 'Sena' had nothing to do with the Government. It was purely a non-political organisation. The 'Bhoodan' movement of Vinobaji persuaded the country's well-to-do and the land-owners to distribute land to the landless peasants.

Democracy and pacifism are two faces of the same coin. They cannot be separated. In fact, democracy is to be based on principles of pacifism. Where there is pacifism there must be democracy. The Indian masses have shown their firm faith in democracy. We, as true believers in truth and non-violence, should engage in more peaceful and constructive programmes. The best tribute that Indians can give to Gandhiji is the preservation of pacifism in India and building the nation on Gandhiji's dream of 'Ram Raj'. This, in reality, has been the endeavour of a great living pacifist of India Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who has always shunned political office and has dedicated himself to the cause of peace and non-violence.



## BRĀHMAṆA WIDOWS AND SUTTEE

ARVIND SHARMA

### I

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that (1) Suttee among the brāhmaṇas was forbidden originally and (2) when it was allowed it led to a curious twist in the rules of con cremation for brāhmaṇa widows because of the exegetical effort to overcome the original ban.

### II

It is widely held that the custom of Suttee was originally either confined to or mainly prevalent among the *kṣatriyas*.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, it was not followed by the *brāhmaṇas*. This situation is best exemplified by the Padmapurāṇa ( *Sṛiṣṭikhanda* 49, 72-73 ) which "extols the custom to the sky, but expressly prohibits it to Brāhmaṇa women. It declares that any person, who will be guilty of helping a Brāhmaṇa widow to the funeral pyre, will be guilty of the dreadful and unattonable sin of the murder of a Brāhmaṇa".<sup>2</sup>

This view also found formal expression in the *smṛti* literature. Thus Hārīta observes "that a woman practising self-immolation ennobles three lives, i. e., those of her father, her mother and her husband. But he is positively against the practice being resorted to by Brahman ladies. In his opinion, they, burning themselves, obstruct even the souls of their husbands, from entering into heaven".<sup>3</sup> Similarly, "Several texts cited by Aparārka from Paiṭhinasi, Aṅgiras, Vyāghra-pāda apparently forbid self-immolation of brāhmaṇa widow".<sup>4</sup>

1 See A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973) p. 128; P. Thomas, *Indian Women Through the Ages* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1964) p. 231; Indra, *The Status of Women in Ancient India* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1955) p. 119; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra* Vol. II, Pt. I (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1941) p. 630; etc.

2 A. S. Altekar *op. cit.*, p. 128; also see P. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

3 Indra, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

4 P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 627; also see note 1468. The Mitākṣarā, however, regards *anvārohaṇa* as the common duty of all castes (*ibid.*, p. 631).

## III

But although “the burning of brāhmaṇa widows began much later than that of kṣatriya widows”,<sup>1</sup> begin it did.<sup>2</sup> Now the question arose: how is this to be reconciled with the Smṛti rules forbidding Suttee in the case of brāhmaṇa women?

Two approaches seem to have been adopted to reconcile theory and practice.

(1) Aparāka ( 12th century A. D. ) in his comment of Yajñavalkya I. 87 seems to have argued that “when death by mounting the funeral pyre of the husband was apparently prohibited to a Brāhmaṇa widow, what was meant was that she should not take the step merely under a temporary sense of overwhelming grief”.<sup>3</sup>

(2) Mādhava ( 14th century A. D. ) on his comment on Parāśara IV. 31 argued that the “intention may be to interdict death by mounting a separate funeral pyre; a Brāhmaṇa widow must always be burnt along with her husband’s remains on the same pyre”.<sup>4</sup>

It is the latter “reconciliation” which gained general acceptance. Thus the authors of digest came to explain away the passages forbidding the self-immolation of a Brāhmaṇa widow “by saying that they only prohibit self-immolation by a brāhmaṇa widow on a funeral pyre different from that of her husband i.e. a brāhmaṇa widow can burn herself only on the funeral pyre of her husband and if his body is cremated elsewhere in a foreign land, his widow cannot, on hearing of his death, burn herself later. They rely on the text of Usanas that a brāhmaṇa widow should not follow her husband on a separate funeral pyre”.<sup>5</sup>

## IV

Thus the attempt to reconcile the actual practice of Suttee by brāhmaṇa widows with the smṛti injunctions against the practice produced this curious exegetical result. It is interesting in this context that in the Mṛcchakaṭika, the objection raised regarding the wife of Cārudatta, a brāhmaṇa lady “was not against Sati as such but to burning in a pyre separate from her husband’s”.

1 P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

2 “Soon after 1000 A. D.” (A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 129).

3 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 129

4 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

5 P. V. Kane *op. cit.* p. 627.



## PROBLEMS OF PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS IN INDIA- A REVIEW

A. M. RAJASEKHARIAH  
and  
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Public enterprises are those undertakings, generally in the industrial economic and commercial fields, which are wholly or partially owned by the Government and are managed by special type of organisation, such as statutory corporations, government companies, regulatory commissions or boards and, occasionally, as departmental undertakings. There is hardly any country today in which the government is not engaged actively and directly in the setting up and management of economic and industrial enterprises. In the words of S. S. Khera: "These range from transport systems-railways, road and air and shipping enterprises and water-ways, the generation of power and its distribution, irrigation works with vast net works; the supply of water for industry and for domestic consumption- the mining and processing of coal, iron and other minerals; banking and insurance to industrial establishments of all kinds, such as integrated steel plants, machine-tools, fertilizers and chemicals, the manufacture of aircraft, of locomotives and of transport equipment; indeed almost every conceivable sort of industrial and commercial activity, productive of goods or services. In varying degrees, governments everywhere are involved in industrial and economic management".<sup>1</sup>

To a large extent, the degree of state ownership has been determined by doctrinaire ideologies of the political parties in power but at times and in various countries, the compulsions of economic development have equally pressurised the governments to plough economic and commercial fields. Thus in countries like U. S. S. R., China, Yugoslavia there is virtually no private sector and the entire apparatus of production and distribution is under state ownership, management and control. On the other extreme are countries like the U. S. A. where

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1 S. S. Khera, *Government in Business*, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1963, pp. 23-24.

state industrial and commercial enterprises are an anathema to most people and hence the role of public sector is strictly limited. In countries like the U. K., France, Italy and Sweden, where although the public sector has made tremendous advances in recent years, both the public and private sectors have been allowed to flourish side by side. The need to attract foreign capital without, however, allowing it to exploit the country's resources has been the dominant reason for the expansion of public enterprises. In the developing countries like Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Pakistan, Burma and Israel public sector enterprises have followed in the wake of their all-out effort to develop themselves economically through the machinery of the state for quick development.

#### **Evolution of the Public Sector in India :**

The evolution of the public sector in India is a very recent phenomenon and its history can be compressed within the developments during the last three decades, or, more precisely, within the period following the independence of the country in August 1947. Prior to 1947 there was virtually no public sector in the Indian economy. The few instances worthy of mention were (a) the Railways, (b) the Posts and Telegraphs Department, (c) the Port Trusts, (d) the Reserve Bank of India, (e) the Ordnance and Aircraft factories, and (f) a few state-managed undertakings like the Government salt factories, Quinine factories etc. This was, of course, due to historical reasons. Although the East India Company had encouraged the development of a few indigenous industries in its own interest, the policy was later reversed for the benefit of industries in Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> The Britishers had no intention to develop India industrially and economically and, hence, the public sector could not take its roots. But the attainment of independence on August 15, 1947 made a great impact on the industrial field. The popular Government came into power in the background of post-war inflation combined with economic upheaval of partition of the country and refugee rehabilitation, acute shortage of goods and services.

#### **Industrial Policy of 1948**

With a view to arresting inflationary trend and to step up production in different fields, in less than an year after independence, the Government of India passed an Industrial Policy Resolution (April

1 Nahagopal Das, *Public Sector in India*, pp. 120-125.



1948) envisaging a mixed economy with an over-all responsibility of the Government for planned development and regulation of industries in the national interest. The Government of India decided to follow a scheme of allocation of spheres for the development of industries. The industries were divided into four main categories :

1. The first category included industries like arms and ammunitions the production and control of atomic energy, the ownership and management of Railways and those were exclusively reserved for the state.

2. The second category consisted of coal, iron and ship-building, aircraft, mineral oils and telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus. New establishments in these industries were to be set up by the state and the existing private establishments were to continue for a period of 10 years after which the position would be reviewed.

3. The third category included eighteen industries of special importance from the point of view of investment and technical know-how involved, such as salt, automobiles, tractors, machine tools, heavy chemicals and fertilizers, drugs, cotton and woolen textiles, cement, sugar etc. These industries were open to private enterprises, subject to state control and regulation. The state entered this field in national interest.

4. The fourth category included all other industries not included in the above three categories and which were left open to private enterprises. This policy of mixed economy was reiterated in the First Five Year Plan.

#### **Industrial Policy of 1956 :**

Although the industrial policy of 1948 served as a broad indication of government's attitude towards the industries, yet it could not enunciate, in concrete and effective terms, the government's industrialization programme in relation to economic development. It had not taken into account the social and political needs of the country. Therefore, while launching the second Five Year Plan with a view to attaining the socialistic pattern of society a new industrial policy was announced in 1956.

Under this new policy all industrial units were divided into (1) State monopolies, (2) industries to be owned by the state in due course, and (3) industries in private sector. Of course, this does not mean that

Government would not enter this field at any stage later. This implied that the continuance of public ownership and private ownership side by side. At the same time, it was felt that private owned industrial units are not functioning in the best interests of the economy, state could take-over, interfere or guide and assist in their working. Thus the redeeming feature of the 1956 policy was that it brought about an excellent synchronization between government's industrial policy and the industrial programme included in the plan.

### **Industrial Policy of 1972 :**

The government of India modified its industrial policy in the context of experience gained from the working of the Industrial Licensing Policy of February, 1970 and the Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan. The industrial policy resolution was adopted in 1956 at a time when the second Five Year plan placing heavier emphasis on industrialization was being finalised. The resolution laid down the basic principles to guide the Government's approach towards industrialisation. A revision in the industrial policy was made in February, 1970 in the light of the broad objectives and production targets of the Fourth Five Year Plan.

The Industrial Licencing Policy of February, 1970 permitted the larger industrial houses as well as of majority foreign companies to enter and expand in the heavy investment sector—a sector involving investment of more than Rs. 5 crores, irrespective of whether they belonged to priority group of industries or otherwise.

The revised policy recognises the joint sector as a device which may be resorted to in specific cases having regard to the 'production targets of the plan' as well as 'promotional instrument' to encourage new and medium entrepreneurs in the development of priority industries.

The revised policy has also favoured small scale sector and cooperative sector.

The Union Government has redefined the categories of industries in respect of which exemption from licencing will be available in the light of the new industrial policy announced on February 2, 1973. The following table provides the rate of growth of Public Sector since 1950-51.



**Growth of the Public Sector :****RATE OF GROWTH OF PUBLIC SECTOR<sup>1</sup>**

Year	No. of Units	Investment (in crores of Rs.)
1950-51	5	29
1955-56	21	81
1960-61	48	953
1965-66	74	2,415
1966-67	81	2,930 ‡

‡ Source : A. K. Narayan 'Reforming Public Enterprises,' Yojana April, 1968, p. 8

This indicates the steady growth of Public Sector from Plan to Plan. At the commencement of the First Five Year Plan, the country had only five Public Sector Projects with a total investment of Rs. 29 crores. It rose to 21 with an investment of Rs. 81 crores at the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan and 48 projects with an investment of Rs. 953 crores at the commencement of the Third Plan. Today the country has 192 Central Government undertakings accounting for an investment of Rs 5,000 crores. These enterprises are operating in diverse fields, viz., steel, heavy and light engineering, fertilizers and basic chemicals, drugs, mining and minerals, petroleum, ship-building, aviation, trading and other miscellaneous undertakings.

**Achievements :**

A poor country such as India has invested such a huge amount of money, with high hopes and expectations. How far the achievements have matched with our hopes and expectations? The report of the Study Team of the Administrative Reforms Commission (1967) records the contribution of the Public Sector in the following words :

".....through the medium of the public enterprises Government have been able to bridge serious gaps in the economy, strengthen the infrastructure needed for rapid industrial development, regulate trade to social advantage, and achieve increasing indigenous production of the basic material and machines required by industry including equipment needed for defence."<sup>2</sup>

The increase in the gross output of basic materials is also not insignificant. The study team provided the following information :

- 1 Administrative Reforms Commission: *Report on the Public Sector undertakings* Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1967, p. 5.
- 2 Administrative Reforms Commission, *Report on the Public Sector undertakings*, Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 6-7.

## INCREASE IN PRODUCTION IN PUBLIC SECTOR

Products	1950-51	1965-66
1. Production of ingots (in million tonnes)	1.5	6.2
2. Petroleum products (in million tonnes)	3.2§	10.0
3. Fertilizer (Nitrogen and Phosphate) thousand tonnes	18.0	350.0
4. Machine tools (worth in lakhs of Rupees)	30.0	230.00

Figures for 1955-56      Source : ARC (Study Team), 1967, p. 7

One of the twin aims of the Plan was to provide employment to the idle population of India. With the growing number of enterprises, the capacity for providing employment increased rapidly. The Government's share in the factory employment grew from 10% in 1950-51 to 16% in 1966-67. In March 1961, the total employment in manufacturing enterprises was of the order of 33.9 lakhs, out of which only 3.7 lakhs were in the Government. In the Public Sector it increased to 6.7 lakhs (an increase of 81.1%) whereas employment in the Private Sector increased to 35.8 lakhs (an increase of 18.5%). Similarly, total employment in the Government Sector increased by about 33% during the period from 1961 to 1966, whereas in the same period, the increase in Private Sector was of the order of 21%.

**The Failures :**

Not many were, however, impressed by the huge expansion and the gross increase in output of the Public Sector industries. Their achievements were not up to the expectations. It was expected that returns from their investment would accumulate into capital at a rate fast enough to plan and support expansions and new investments. Instead, many of the prized enterprises went into red year after year. During the first and second Plan periods, one could understand the losses. Factories take time to reach their capacity production. Technical know-how has to be developed. Managerial organizations evolve and stabilize gradually. But it seemed that the Public Sector industries were taking too long a time. Delays have been a recurring feature in all phases (e. g. project preparation, construction and operations) necessitating several revisions of cost and causing longer gestation period which, taken together, put capital as well as the men in an unfavourable condition to work with.



1. One of the consequences has been disheartening losses. For example, the Hindustan Steel Limited (HSL) has accumulated a loss of Rs. 120 crores, although recently it has started showing an average of 2.1 percent profit. Similarly, Heavy Electricals of Bhopal has incurred a loss of Rs. 26 crores, Neyveli Lignite Corporation Rs. 4.5 crores; National Mineral Development Corporation Rs. 2.5 crores, and others of lesser magnitude. Except the H. M. T., none of the Public Sector industries seems to be in a good shape. Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, the Chairman of the ARC sadly noted : “while it has to be recognized that they (Public Sector Industries) have made considerable contribution to the economy of the country, it is equally evident that their performance has not been up to the mark. The size of cumulative and annual losses that a number of them have incurred cause concern. The quality and price of goods manufactured have not in many cases given full satisfaction.”<sup>1</sup>

2. The Study Team of the Administrative Reforms Commission credits the Public Sector with increasing “its share in reproducible tangible wealth of the country” from 15 percent in 1950-51 to 35 percent in 1965-66.<sup>2</sup> The credit, however, seems to be misplaced. For, if agricultural products are said to comprise 50% of the country’s wealth and if 35% of the remaining 50% is credited to the Government Sector, the Private Sector is left with only 15% which seems to be less credible. This is also in contradiction to the study reported in the capital (1968) in which the Public sector is estimated to contribute only 16.7 percent of the aggregate national production (worth Rs. 5,222.7 crores) and 16.3 percent of the total sale (worth Rs. 5,107.9 crores) even though the two Sectors have nearly equal share in the paid-up capital and not fixed assets. Even in the total net profit of Rs. 180.5 crores, the contribution of the Public Sector is roughly 19.3 percent. The study concludes : “This shows that investments in the Public Sector even at the end of 1965-66, did not yield the matching level of production, sales or profit as compared, with that in the Private Sector.”<sup>3</sup>

3. Another index of the uneconomic functioning of the Public Sector is reflected by the amount tied up in inventories of the Government enterprises. According to the survey of a study Team,<sup>4</sup> it is estimated to be a little over Rs. 800 crores in 34 running concerns of the Public Sector. For one unit of capital blocked in inventory, the

1 *Ibid* p. 1

2 *Ibid* p. 7

3 *Ibid* p. 1222

4 *Ibid* p. 178.

magnitude of sales was found to be 2 units whereas in the Private Sector it is 2.5 and in the developed countries it is 5 units. A bigger inventory means that a larger amount of capital is frozen which, in turn, costs the concern in terms of interest rate and reduced profit.

4. One of the aims of the Public Sector was to provide an image of a model employer which could conceive the labour management relation “as a partnership in a constructive endeavour.” *The First Five Year Plan*<sup>1</sup> had proposed four steps in this direction :

a) The Public Sector “should set the pace and serve as model” in respect to wages working conditions and welfare amenities.

b) The Board of Directors of Public undertakings should be persons possessed of a sympathetic appreciation of labour problems.

c) The benefits of all labour laws applicable to private undertakings should be made available to workers of Public undertakings and as such exceptions from such labour legislation should not be granted.

d) There should be progressive participation of labour in the running of the “many matters of the undertakings” so that the workers “feel that in practice, as well as in theory, they are partners in the undertaking.”

#### **Suggestions for streamlining the Public undertakings :**

With the growing role of Public Sector in the economy of India, it is imperative to improve its functioning. A concern has been expressed in all quarters about its efficiency. An eminent economist described India's Public undertakings as ‘post office socialism’. The government asked the Administrative Reforms Commission to scrutinise the functioning of Public enterprises and suggest remedial measures. The ARC appointed a high powered Study Team to examine in depth the problem of Public Enterprises and suggest measures for its improvement. The Study Team, submitted its report on ‘Public Sector Undertakings’ in 1967. Some of the major recommendations of the ARC related to the form of organisation of Public enterprises; Parliament and public enterprises; governmental control over public enterprises, personnel policies of the enterprises and their coordination with the government. The ARC expressed its preference for Public Corporation form for the management of public enterprises. It was against dominance of the officials on the Boards of corporations and government companies. It was in favour of a policy-making board. It recommended that :

1 *The First Five Year Plan*, Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1922 pp. 573-581.



a) No officer of a ministry should be made Chairman of a Public Undertaking, nor should the Secretary of a ministry be included on its Board of Management.

b) The top management posts, like those of the Chairman or full time members of the Board should be filled by officers on deputation only when there is no suitable alternative available. As a general rule, government servants selected for appointment to these posts should, on appointment thereto, opt out permanently for service in the Public sector.

c) The government officers appointed on the Board should not be taken as representing any particular ministry so that even when they are transferred, they continue on the Boards.

d) All appointments made below the Board level should be made by the Board itself.

The ARC envisaged an important coordinative role for the Bureau of Public Enterprises. It suggested that the Bureau, in consultation with the ministries and the undertakings should work out a model form for the Annual Report of the undertakings. The Bureau, with its specialised experience could help the undertakings in discharging their difficult tasks. The ARC suggested that the Bureau should be headed by a person of the status of a Secretary to the government who should hold a full time charge of it. The person heading the Bureau should be acquainted with the working of Public Undertakings and should be competent to deal with problems of economic and statistical nature.

The functions of the Bureau should be :

a) To maintain panels of suitable persons for appointment to the Boards of public undertakings.

b) To furnish periodical reports on the functioning of these undertakings.

c) to act as a data bank and as a clearing house of information about public sector undertakings.

d) To coordinate the work relating to the examination of public undertakings by parliamentary committees.

e) To compile information on employees' condition of service.

f) To assist the ministries in controlling expenditure on non-development or establishment items of the public undertakings, and

g) To advise public undertakings on matters on which advice is sought.

Thus the ARC envisaged an important staff agency role for the Bureau of Public Enterprises.

Regarding the relationship between the government and the corporations, the ARC recommended that 'directives of the government should be in a formal form' and the corporation should mention it in its Annual Report; Parliament should earmark a number of days for discussions of the working of public sector undertakings. These are some of the important recommendations of the ARC to streamline the functioning of the public sector undertakings in India.

### **Conclusion :**

Under the pressure of mounting public criticism, the government decided that its officials on deputation to public undertakings would have to exercise the option whether to resign from government service and absorb themselves in the enterprises or to revert to their parent cadres, before August 31, 1971. There are over 550 deputationists from the various central services including about 60 I.A.S. and a few I.C.S. officers in the Public undertakings. The date for the exercise of option by the deputationists has been extended. The government could not take a firm decision on the personnel of public undertakings. It constituted an Industrial Management Pool to serve the needs of the ministries having industrial undertakings functioning under them. The aim of the scheme was to build up a pool of officers, with industrial or managerial experience, for manning different management units in public enterprises. The initial strength of the pool was to be 200. The scheme later went out of favour with the government. Its policy of sending I. C. S. and I. A. S. officials to the public sector undertakings did not find favour with Parliament, Parliamentary committees, and the Administrative Reforms Commission. The government is vacillating on the issue. To sum up, the organisational forms, the personnel policies and the procedures of work of the public enterprises need basic changes, if they are to deliver the goods. Whatever be their shortcomings, the public undertakings in India have to be strengthened at any cost. A determined effort is urgently needed to put them on a sound footing to enable them to play their role towards the attainment of our socialistic goals. There is no question of going back on the policy, and the country has taken the right and a wise step in this direction. The problems faced by these undertakings are not insurmountable. Given the Political will and determination, the public undertakings in India can be made to work efficiently and economically.



## UNIVERSITIES AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

B. C. PATIL

and

V. T. PATIL

Universities are fundamentally corporate bodies consisting of teachers and students who strive to learn from one another through close interaction. The principal objective of the Universities is to enlarge and deepen the knowledge of external phenomena with a view to understand the forces that shape and mould a society. Jawaharlal Nehru very rightly asserted that universities 'stand for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the research of truth [and] for the onward march of human race towards even higher objectives.' In the present period universities in India have to undergo profound and far-reaching changes in their scope, functions and organisation. The functions of the universities can be categorised as a venture to seek knowledge, to provide the right kind of leadership in all walks of life, to provide society with competent men and women trained in agriculture and technology, medicine and science, to promote equality and social justice and to create the conditions of good life for individuals in society. However, it is a widely shared belief that universities in our country have not been able to play a very dominant role in creating the necessary conditions for the removal of the ills of society. This means that the universities have not been able to fulfil the expectations of the people for social salvation and social advancement.<sup>1</sup>

### Five Fold Functions of Universities :

The universities perform a five-fold function in the task of social transformation and regeneration. The five tasks are: universities as

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Education Commission 1964-66*, (Kothari Commission), (New Delhi, Ministry of Education, Govt of India, 1966), pp. 174-75. Also see *The Report of the University Education Commission*, (Radhakrishnan Commission), (December 1948 - August 1949, Vol. I), (New Delhi, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, 1962), pp. 32-67.

corporate institutions; interactions between universities and society; autonomy within the universities; universities as social transformers and role of universities in training skilled manpower.<sup>1</sup>

In the contemporary world universities are looked upon as potent vehicles of stability and status quo on the one hand and change and social reform on the other. The contradictory but nevertheless mutually reinforcing functions of the universities call for some elaboration. Institutions of higher learning give strength and sustenance to the cultural heritage of a nation, they also play a dominant role in the transition from colonialism to national independence or from agrarian societies to technical industrial societies. Universities have the potential of engendering national cohesion and national identity. But Indian universities function in the limbo between tradition and innovation, but somehow lack genuine commitment as they tend to evade conforming with reality.

Universities themselves can become objects of reforms as well as instruments for reforms. This clearly indicates the clear interaction between the universities and the society at large. Universities perform this task through the process of classical education, liberal education, general education, graduate education and professional education. The relationship between these two units is intimate, reciprocal and mutually beneficial. Universities influence the society and its values as much as they are influenced by them. The point that needs to be kept in mind is the range and depth of influence the universities have on society.<sup>2</sup>

Autonomy of the universities is a much bandied about phrase in recent years. The burgeoning cost of university education and administration and the consequent inability of universities to mobilise financial resources on their own has undermined the autonomy and independence of these institutions. Universities, by and large, do not intervene in a major way in identifying constructive areas of activity. This is based on the ostensible reasoning that such intervention cuts across professional independence and academic style of these institutions. The universities historically have maintained institutional neutrality in exchange for internal freedom and autonomy. For all these reasons,

1 James A. Perkin, "Is the University an Agent of Social Reform". This article reprinted in the *American Review* was first read at a symposium held by the University of Canterbury, Christ Church, New Zealand.

2 For further discussion on this point see D. Subbarao, "Education and Social Changes", *Educational India*, Vol. 38, No. 7, January, 1972, pp. 215-17.



the universities have not been able to play powerful and effective role as agents of social change and reform.

This line of reasoning should not give us an impression that the universities have no role to play as instruments of social change. Universities, by generating modern ideas, secular values and liberal philosophies can certainly mould the social, economic, and political institutions of the nation. In a traditional society where the hold of customs, religion and dogmas is great, the universities by releasing modernising values and forces can become prime vehicles of social change and reform.

Universities have also a significant role in training skilled manpower to meet the requirement of modern technical society. Manpower requirements, specially in the scientific and technological sphere can be generated by the universities. A modern society requires a large number of doctors, engineers, lawyers, scientists, technically skilled people etc., to keep the wheels of industry and the society in motion. Without this braintrust provided by the universities, modern industrial system would collapse. In sum, the role of higher institutions of learning in the modern age is synonymous with material advancement, urbanisation and rapid industrialisation.<sup>1</sup>

Universities if they have to generate faith in their abilities to deliver goods must take energetic measures in the realms of thought and action— thought for providing intellectual leadership and action for the uplift of the community. Universities must not be in the grip of the past which must be left behind so that plans can be made for the hopeful future. They must not slide into ritualistic, tedious, jejune, 'inhibitive institutions— destructive of curiosity and imagination. Social justice must be given topmost priority in the scheme of university life. The Faure report of UNESCO, *Learning to be*, points out to the need for 'liberating the energies of the people, unleashing their creative power, heads the list of future prospects of development of education in the world'. This implies sincere democratisation of education which

1 A nation's higher institutions of learning are managed on two basic principles: 1. the manpower principle where the objective is to provide skilled individuals for various professions and vocations; 2. the free choice principle where the objective is to supply education to meet the requirements of the choices of students. In socialist countries of the world the former is in vogue while the second principle is followed in the United States. An under-developed country like India with scarce resources must place primary emphasis on the manpower principle. See an interesting discussion on this issue by Howard R. Brown, "Universities and Manpower Needs," *The American Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Winter 1977, pp. 87-94.

will go a long way in removing the conventional pedagogy through deformatisation and de-institutionalisation of instructional technique. New strategies of education should explore new pathways for providing opportunities to all to learn.

#### **Universities and Rural Reconstruction :**

There is a significant and clearcut linkage between higher education and rural regeneration and reconstruction.

The vast millions of Indians live in the villages. More than 5 lakh villages constitute homes for the teeming millions who incessantly toil for a life of happiness and prosperity. India pulsates with life in her villages which are spread over the nook and corner of the country. Social scientists and political leaders have applied their mind to rural problems and they generally agree that the attack on India's poverty, illiteracy, hunger and degradation should begin by coming to grips with rural problems. Gandhi with his pragmatism stressed incessantly the fact that rural salvation was the essential pre-condition for generating rapid economic development of India as a whole. We have reached a stage in our progress towards radical improvements in our economic standards which necessitate giving top priority to the needs and comforts of the rural people.

University education in India today is at cross-roads. We have reached a fork in our onward march towards creating a new dynamic society. Classical concept of education, which took a restrictive view of the role of higher education, no longer is in tune with the pressing realities of the modern world. The concept of welfare state combined with the spurt in the hopes and aspirations of the people, certainly call for a new and vigorous role for higher education in our society. Our leaders have recognised the need for peaceful socio-economic revolution in the light of changing social values.

It is not the sole purpose of education to merely extend the frontiers of knowledge. Knowledge, as an end in itself, is good. However, this does not go far enough. In a developing country, it must serve the wider interests of the masses. Unfortunately, up to now higher education has operated in the old groove. This has resulted in a hiatus between higher institutions of learning and the rural masses. At this critical juncture, it is imperative that the goals of higher education should be redefined to include an intimate realignment with the forces



of rural progress. It is in this context, that the role of higher education in rural development gains a crucial significance.

The revamping of university education necessarily involves a basic thrust within the framework of continuing education which could certainly meet the prime needs of the masses in rural areas. Such a process involves a multipronged attack on the diverse problems of rural people manifesting at different levels and in different dimensions. The rural society has a large number of gaps in vital areas of human endeavour. Programmes like rural road-building, provision of drinking facilities, catering for the needs of rural health and hygiene, inculcation of scientific temper and modern attitudes in the rural population, adoption of improved techniques in agriculture along with a comprehensive programme of social education; all these issues require urgent attention from intellectuals in higher institutions of learning.

It is in such a scheme of things that the universities can definitely play a prominent role in evolving viable and creative programmes of continuing education. These programmes to be fruitful and meaningful must have depth, substance and range that encompass within its fold a panacea for the many problems of the rural population. The university through its intellectuals and the student community can play an integrating role in the community. The socio-economic advancement of the people can be harnessed to evolve a society free from the stresses and strains that arise during the process of growth and development. It is through realistic teaching and learning programmes that universities can hope to solve some of the pressing problems of the rural areas. A sound continuing education programme for the rural masses involves serious thinking on the structural and functional aspects as well as clear conception of the philosophy of continuing education. This means clarity of objectives, methods, sound and effective administration, a viable organisational set-up, adequate finances, a fund of manpower resources, personnel with the required technical skill, and competence and academic leadership of a high order. Such a scheme of continuing education would cover the young and the old without any discrimination of race, sex or creed. In such a comprehensive plan, provision can be made for imparting knowledge in such areas as science and technology, rural health and hygiene, engineering, ecology, human relations, civic responsibility and group dynamics.

Universities can broaden their field of influence in the rural sector by emphasizing adult education and community development. They can

launch literacy campaigns by offering facilities for secondary and post-secondary education to capable adults in the rural areas. There are good social and economic reasons for giving top priority to adult education at the university level. In the sphere of community development the universities could play a prominent role in training planners and leaders.<sup>1</sup>

To make the adult literacy programme in the villages successful, the library movement must be galvanised to meet the thirst of the rural people for information and knowledge. The government should provide funds to establish effective rural libraries in villages and taluka places. These libraries should be stocked with low-priced books and literature which could be of use to neo-literates. Intellectuals should write books in a simple language which the simple people of the rural areas can understand without any difficulty. Higher institutions of learning should conduct research in the area of book production for the masses and conduct frequent seminars, symposia, group discussions and extension lectures in the rural areas to acquaint these people with modern problems.

The university endowed with talent must formulate schemes and programmes for resuscitating rural economy and way of life. This can be achieved by the application of sophisticated quantitative techniques for conducting periodic surveys which can yield vast amounts of significant data pertaining to various phases and aspects of rural life. All this calls for rethinking and reformulating the ideas of intellectuals in universities. Intellectuals need to come out of their shell and give up the ivory tower mentality. They need to broaden their mental horizons with a view to realising their social and moral responsibilities to the rural people. It is time that the intellectuals understand that the dawn of a millennium in our country is entirely dependent upon the cumulative and collective efforts of all in a spirit of team-work and cooperation. It would certainly not be wrong to assert that the intellectuals have a crucial role in a developing country. If they remain aloof from the regenerative socio-economic forces at this critical juncture, it will mean that they are shirking their responsibilities towards the society at large. They must be in the vanguard of the movement to revitalize the rural society in a creative way. Intellectuals must join the main-stream of

1 See the summary report and conclusion on *Higher Education and Development in South East Asia*, (Paris, Unesco 1965), pp. 35-42, and Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, "Adult Education in the Seventies," *The Educational Reporter*, Vol. 1, No. 9, March, 1971, pp. 11-12.



national life by cooperating fully with other progressive forces in the society.<sup>1</sup>

The focus and import of higher education has to be drastically re-oriented from that of building an 'elite' to that of being useful to the common man. Higher institutions of learning have unfortunately failed to bridge the spawning gulf between its content and the vital living experience of its learners. This has resulted in attitudinal deficiencies in the life-style of the rural people which is not in conformity with the expected behavioural norms. Higher education to be effective must be creative and evolving which implies that it must strike down the unjustifiable privileges of the vested interests who have struck deep roots in the evolving pattern of the social order. Expansion and strengthening of existing educational facilities will only amount to tinkering with the problem. To find meaningful solutions, we have to dig deep below the surface. Perspective planning and forward thinking on the role of higher education in a futuristic society are the needs of the hour so that permanent solutions to vexed problems can be found. In this perspective, higher institutions of learning must study threadbare the problems of the rural society and its aspirations, and generate effective leadership to tackle the question of fostering change in a transitional society on a comprehensive scale.

We have now reached a stage where the old dialogue and controversy on the primary role of university education has come to an end. No longer do we debate whether institutions of higher learning should be involved and deeply committed to the socio-economic goals of a democratic, secular, socialistic society. All of us agree that the involvement of higher institutions of learning to social commitment and upliftment is part and parcel of the central philosophy of university education. It would be appropriate at this point to put forth some suggestions which higher institutions of learning could act upon speedily and without any let or hindrance.

1. In a developing society vocational education is of basic significance. Education must be tailored to meet the requirements of society in terms of engineers, doctors, lawyers, scientists, teachers, etc. This clearly implies that higher education should be functional in its substance and its influence. It must develop a perennial source of competent human resources which could meet the challenging needs of a rapidly developing society.

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1 O. P. Grewal, "Role of Intellectuals in Society," *Secular Democracy*, (Annual Number), Vol. X, No. I and II, January, 15th and 31st, pp. 117-23.

2. The founding fathers of the Indian constitution made a deliberate choice in 1950, when they chose parliamentary democracy as a way of life for our country. Higher education can sustain and strengthen parliamentary institutions by developing political consciousness, a sense of patriotism, respect for rule of law, spirit of tolerance and in the minds of the rural people a firm faith in the destiny of the nation.

3. Indian society essentially is a traditional society which in recent times is in transition from the ancient to the modern. In a traditional society, religion, superstition, dogmas, customs, mores, loom very large in the life of these people. Poverty is the feeding ground for antiquated values to flourish in any society and more so in the case of India. It is through the instrumentality of education mass ignorance can be successfully eradicated.

4. India's population is booming at a rate that threatens the success of our ambitious Five Year Plans. The flora and fauna of the country, the bountiful natural resources and mineral resources are in themselves incapable of overcoming the adverse consequences of population explosion. Through a well coordinated family welfare programme the rural masses must be educated on the need for a small family. It must be realised that it is not the quantity of population that matters, but the quality of population which is of basic importance. Higher education should popularise such practices as late marriages, use of cheap contraceptives, and legalisation of abortions.

5. The syllabi and the curricula for the various courses in universities need a drastic revision with a view to stress on those aspects that relate to rural welfare. Students and teachers should devote at least a month in a year during the holidays to work for rural uplift. Higher institutions in the country should adopt certain villages in their respective areas for conversion into model villages. Such an experience for the teachers and students will enable them to gain first-hand knowledge of rural problems.

#### **Conclusions :**

This paper has hopefully argued that higher education has the sacred task of creating the conditions of social and economic welfare. In a country where poverty, disease and hunger are persistent realities with their harmful consequences, it does not require much assertion to



argue that higher education must play a prominent role in creating a self-generating economy.

In fine, higher institutions of learning should relieve social miseries in order to achieve the goal of social development. Indian educationists are working concertedly on these problems of national importance through various agencies—governmental as well as non-governmental. Consequently, India today is in a position to accelerate the socio-economic welfare of the rural people. Indian universities will have to study every possibility of taking steps more carefully hereafter, with a view to attain the ambitious goal of nation-building. A new socio-economic order based on such sturdy foundations is possible only through concerted and determined efforts.

From this brief exercise the intimate relationship between higher institutions of learning and rural development becomes very clear. They are like the two faces of the coin. India cannot achieve one without progress in the other area. Intellectuals and educationists in league with other progressive forces of society must create the necessary atmosphere for revitalising rural society.

# VOCATIONAL INTERESTS OF ARTISTS AND NON - ARTISTS

A. S. DHARANENDRIAH  
and  
S. R. KUMBHAR

## **Introduction :**

The creative persons as a group are often differentiated from their ordinary counterparts in terms of certain psychological characteristics like intelligence, aptitudes, values, and interests. However, objective studies relating to the differences between the creative and the others are not many. Numerous introspective reports written by creative persons in a variety of fields are available; but they are not particularly helpful in providing clues to the measurement of those human abilities and personality characteristics that would enable the psychologists and the educators to identify the potentially creative artists, scientists, mathematicians, musicians or authors and to predict their future course of action.

During the last few years attempts have been made however, to sample the psychological characteristics of the creative persons. Barron, Dutton, Husband and Butcher, Mackinnon, Paramesh and others have reported significant facts relating to intelligence, interests, value orientations and other psychological characteristics of creative persons. Highly creative 40 artists for instance, studied by Mackinnon significantly differed from the common men in their vocational interests. Robert and Prideau also report similar results.

The present investigation is an attempt to find out whether a group of artists (Painters) show a distinct vocational interests pattern when compared with a group of their common counterparts.

## **Problem :**

Do artists differ in their vocational interests from non-artists ?



**Null-hypothesis :**

Artists do not differ significantly in their vocational interests from non-artists.

**Method :**

The inventory method is used in this study to find out the vocational interests of the given groups of subjects. The N. C. E. R. T. Interest Inventory (Senior Form-Kannada version) is used. This form consists of four types of items- the situational, the point scale, the paired associates, and the check list. There are 280 items in total. The inventory has been the outcome of one of the C. T. D. projects undertaken by the N. C. E. R. T., New Delhi and is initially tested for its reliability and validity.

**Subjects :**

A sample of 50 artists from Devi Art Studio and Bharatiya Kala Kendra, Dharwad and Vijaya Art Institute, Gadag; and a sample of 50 non-artists from the Karnatak Arts College and J. S. S. College, Dharwad are selected for the study. These two groups of subjects are generally equated in terms of their age and education levels. The age range in both the groups is 18-21 years.

**Collection of Data :**

The N. C. E. R. T. Interest Inventory is administered individually to the subjects of the two groups- artists and non-artists. They are asked to go through the general as well as specific instructions printed in the inventory. After understanding the general instructions they are expected to go to the specific instructions given at the beginning of the first part and to read them carefully and then to act accordingly. They are instructed to mark their answers in the answer sheet. After completing the first part they have to proceed to the next parts one after the other and give their responses in accordance with the specific instructions given. There is no time limit. However, ordinarily one requires an average of 35-40 minutes to answer the inventory.

**Results :**

The obtained responses are scored with the help of the standard keys. The keys used in this study relate to the seven occupational fields given below. The numbers in the brackets are the code numbers representing the accompanying occupational fields.

Secretarial (02)  
 Legal-administative (03)  
 Technological (04)  
 Scientific (06)  
 Protective Services (08)  
 Educational (09) and  
 Medical (10)

The resulting scores are statistically analysed. First frequency distributions are drawn separately for each occupational field for both the groups- artists and non-artists and the mean and S. D. scores are worked out. Then 't' values are determined to study the significance of difference in vocational interests of the two groups. Finally, the occupational interest scores are represented on a graph to obtain the profiles for both the groups.

The following table shows the mean and S. D. scores of artists and non-artists along with the corresponding 't' values.

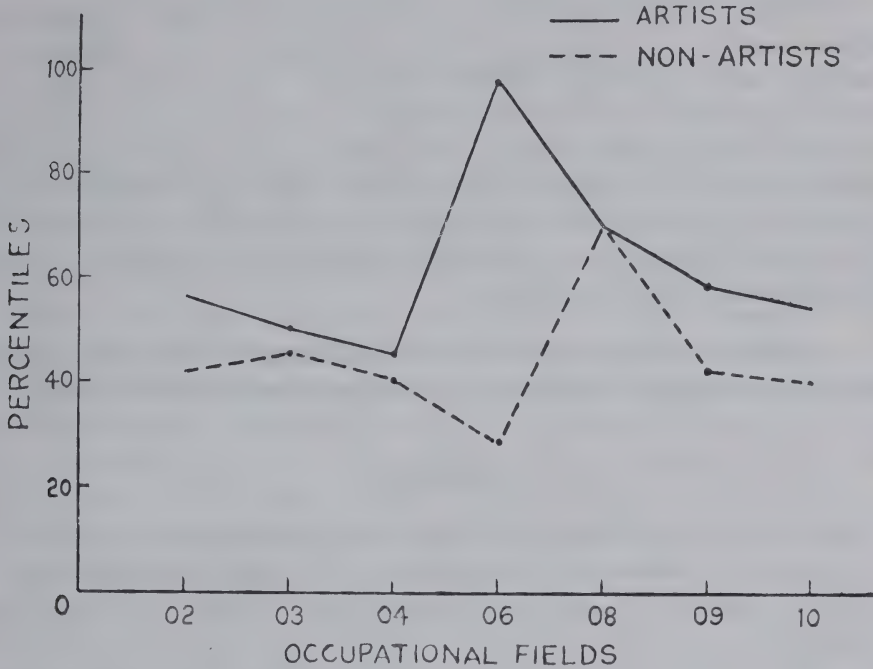
Occupational fields	Artists		Non-artists		't' value	Level of significance
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
02	11.7	10.25	25.70	17-60	02.70	0.05
03	-34.12	12.70	-29.60	09.90	0.66	NS
04	03.90	20.40	18.30	09.06	06.98	0.05
06	-25.18	23.30	-49.90	13.02	02.84	0.05
08	-07.30	15.06	-11.70	11.30	01.28	NS
09	36.30	09.40	48.	10.80	01.42	NS
10	-04.30	07.10	-24.08	11.60	05.20	0.06

#### Discussion :

*Difference in vocational interests of artists and non-artists.* The results reported in the above table on the whole, do not support the null hypothesis 'Artists do not differ significantly in their vocational interests from non-artists.' The 't' values obtained for the occupational fields secretarial, technology, scientific and medical being 02.70, 06.98, 02.84 and 05.20 respectively are significant at 0.05 level. They indicate clearly that the two groups-artists and non-artists differ significantly in their interests relating to secretarial, technological, scientific and medical occupations. These groups however, do not seem to differ significantly in their interests relating to occupational fields-legal administration, protective services and education. The obtained 't' values for these



fields are 0.66, 01.28 and 01.42 respectively which are not statistically significant. Yet, there are indications that the two groups differ to some extent in these fields also except the protective services.



A glance at the accompanying figure containing the vocational interests profiles, clarifies the above mentioned observations. Artists differ from non-artists very much in their scientific interests (field .06). The gap between the two groups in the fields 02, 09 and 10 is considerable. In the fields 03 and 04 also, the two groups seem to differ to a certain extent. However, in the field 08 i. e. protective services the interests of the two groups seem to have no variation whatsoever. On the whole, the interest profiles indicate a clear difference in the occupational interest patterns of the two groups.

*Individual differences within the groups :* The S. D. scores given in the above table indicate that the individual differences within each group vary from one occupational field to another. Artists, for instance, differ very much among themselves in their scientific and technological interests (SD scores, -23.30 and 20.40 respectively), while they differ significantly to a lesser degree in their interests in protective services (SD = 07.10) and education (SD = 09.40). Non-artists seem to vary more among themselves in their secretarial interests (SD = 17.60) and

less in their interests in legal-administration (SD = 09.90) and technology (SD = 09.06).

### Summary :

NCERT Interest Inventory (Senior Form- Kannada version) is administered to 50 artists and 50 non-artists with the objective of studying their vocational interest patterns. The obtained data are treated statistically and vocational interest scores are represented on a graph to obtain profiles for the two groups. The results are clearly against the null hypothesis "Artists do not differ significantly in their vocational interests from non-artists in four fields 02, 06, 09 and 10. The interest profiles show a distinct difference in the pattern of vocational interests of the two groups.

A variation in the extent of individual differences within each group of the given subjects is observed in the different occupational fields.

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## THE KUNBIS OF NORTH KANARA

DR. K. CHANDRASEKHARIAH

The Kunbis of North Kanara might have lived in this region for a fairly long time, extending over centuries, but still, they do not seem to be indigenous to this area. The fact that the Kunbis living here accept the deity of Canacona in Goa as their Kuladevata leads to the inference that their forefathers might have originally belonged to the territory of Goa. The territory of Goa came under the suzerainty of different ruling dynasties before its complete occupation by the Portuguese in the eighteenth century. These historical vicissitudes may have, otherwise, left their own imprint on the economic and political life of Goa, but the ethnic identity of its inhabitants is very much undisturbed. It is not within the scope of this study to discuss the outward migrations from Goa, but it will suffice our purpose to point to the fact that the several ethnic groups from Goa, who have settled down in the adjoining areas, still retain their ethnic identities. It is needless to emphasise that these migrant peoples had to contend with ideas and institutions very much alien to their own, but, through centuries, this gap has narrowed down as a result of acculturation process. This acculturation process, however, has left undisturbed, some unique institutions not found among any of the other native inhabitants and this uniqueness one discovers unmistakably among the Kunbis inhabiting some parts of the Karwar District. They have adopted many of the local customs and usages, but the uniqueness of their life-organization is still clearly manifest. The present study, while emphasising the unique aspects of their life-organization, will not overlook the significant developments coming in the wake of a gradual process of acculturation.

In local parlance, all the cultivating classes are spoken of as Kunbis. This is a grave mistake since all the cultivating classes inhabiting the region do not show common ethnic affinities. The traditional occupation alone does not establish the ethnic characteristics of a people and ethnic diversities among people pursuing the same traditional occupation are too conspicuous to be ignored.

The Bombay Gazetteer<sup>1</sup> includes twentyeight classes under the category of Husbandmen and from an account of these classes given in the Gazetteer, one can see that there is as much to distinguish one class of Husbandmen from another as there is to distinguish the entire category of Husbandmen from other occupational categories included in the Volume.

In the same Volume of the Bombay Gazetteer, we find references to two distinct sections of the Kunbis, the "Konkan Kunbis" and the Atte Vokkals or "Kunbis"<sup>2</sup>. The Konkan Kunbis are shown to be more numerous than the Kunbis. Similarities in traditional patterns of life can be discerned from the accounts given of these two sections of the Kunbis. The Atte Vokkals would not consider themselves as very much distinct from the Konkan Kunbis, though intermarriages between the two sections are practically unknown. The present study pertains to the Atte Vokkals or the Kunbis. Throughout this work, the term, 'Kunbis' refers to the Atte Vokkals, unless otherwise stated.

The earliest references to the Kunbis of Goa is found in the literature of the Portuguese period. Most of this literature is in the form of travel accounts of foreign travellers and in this connection we may cite the well-known travel accounts of Francois Pyrard, a French traveller and of Linschoten, a Dutchman. Pyrard, traversed through India, including Goa during the 17th century and among other things, he gives us an account of the people of Goa. He speaks of the 'Coulombins' as an inferior caste of people who lived in "great poverty and squalor".<sup>3</sup> Linschoten speaks of the same class of people as 'Corumbijn'.<sup>4</sup>

The poverty and squalor of the Kunbis, of which Pyrard speaks of in the 17th century, is very much true of the conditions under which the Kunbis of North Kanara live at the present time. The lapse of three centuries since Pyrard wrote has not brought about any remarkable changes in their lives.

What compelling reasons impelled some of the Kunbi families to move out of Goa is not clear and historical evidences are also lacking

1 Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 15. i, Kanara, Bombay, 1883, p. 202.

2 Ibid., pp. 216 and 248.

3 The voyage of Francois Pyrard, Tr. Albert Gray, II, i, London, M. DCCCLXXXVIII. pp. 35-36. An editorial note in the same work mentions that the term 'Coulombin' corresponds to the Konkani word, 'Kunambi' and the Marathi word 'Kunbi' meaning an agriculturist. *ibid.* p. 35

4 Travels, ( i, 260 ).



as to when they might have moved out. Their movement out of Goa is not covered by any of the existing legendary sources, except a faint clue that originally eight distinct lineages came out and settled in the remote parts of Karwar District. This information was obtained in response to the question, why they were called Atte Vokkals or Atte Kunbis: the term 'Atte,' according to local opinion, meant number 'eight'.

One plausible explanation for the movement of Kunbis out of Goa is contained in their traditional mode of economic activity. Till about a century ago, they practiced shifting cultivation and this involves shifting of families from one area to another, since at any given place where the forests are cut down and set fire to, not more than three annual yields could be obtained. In course of time, they might have gradually moved into the forest regions of North Kanara, as facilities for shifting cultivation in their own homeland became restricted with the increasing depredation of the forests. The district of North Kanara is contiguous with the territory of Goa and the terrain is somewhat similar to the one found in the southern part of Goa. They might have moved up the Kali river valley and spread out into the nearby hills. Almost all their settlements are concentrated to the south of the Kali river and are arranged in an arc of a circle, extending from South-west to North-east, the southern most end reaching as far as Sunksal and the northern most end reaching a little beyond the Arbeil ghat. The terrain consists of thickly wooded hills, with narrow valleys separating one hill range from another. Agriculture can flourish only in these narrow valleys and the soil is not very fertile, being mostly sandy. Very little water from the monsoons are stored in these high valleys, since the entire region comes under the catchment area of the Kali river. Tanks and ponds are not found in the entire region and the paddy crop, the principal crop of the region has to depend on the seasonal rains.

The Kunbis speak a distinct dialect of their own, which is not very much akin to Kannada or Konkani, which are spoken and understood in the region. Most of the Kunbis use Kannada or Konkani while speaking to others. Since they have no script of their own, no folk literature is available, and most of their traditions are of the nature of oral traditions, being transmitted from one generation to another through precept and emulation, rather than through learning. Very few of the Kunbis can recall the events during the time of their grandparents and when asked about their grandparents, frequently the same response

would be heard that their grandparents died while they were still young. If this were to be taken as an indication of the insecure conditions under which the Kunbis lived two generations ago, leading to premature deaths, one could visualise the adverse circumstances to which the Kunbis have been exposed all through the generations.

Even today, it cannot be confidently asserted that the Kunbis live under better circumstances, and the same kind of insecure conditions characterise their lives as in the past. The individual Kunbi families still move out from place to place in search of working opportunities and this is showing extremely adverse effects on their family and community organisation. The adverse circumstances under which the newly-founded families struggle to eke out an existence can be extremely detrimental to the group as a whole. A solidary community organization, attachment to the soil, a well-knit kinship organization, are all the necessary conditions sustaining agriculture as a primary pursuit and these conditions are gradually being denied to a working Kunbi. This may have a disastrous effect on agriculture in the whole region since the Kunbis constitute a major labour force as far as agriculture is concerned.

The Kunbis inhabit the three talukas of Yellapur, Karwar and Ankola, the largest number of them inhabiting the Yellapur Taluka. Most of their original settlements are in the Yellapur Taluka and from these settlements, families have moved out to places in Ankola and Karwar Talukas. Whenever they move out, they do not necessarily move to villages or settlements, but establish small home-steads very near to the fields, which may often be in the remote parts of the forests. More than one family is involved in such movements and the semblance of a Kunbi settlement is created at such places, bearing a distinct name and location. Such sparsely populated Kunbi settlements are quite a few and some of these settlements are located in extremely difficult terrain. It is equally true that any of these newly-established settlements may get completely deserted, when unfavourable conditions outweigh the favourable ones.

In and around the village Bari in Yellapur taluka, we find the heaviest concentration of Kunbis. They still recall the events surrounding the settlement of their forefathers in this neighbourhood, when the settlers enjoyed the patronage of the Bari Gowda, a Karevokkal, whose land ownings were extensive. These settlers worked on his land as tenants and paid him in return only nominal rents. His landholdings were at different places and a good part of his lands were left uncultiva-

ted, over which he gradually lost ownership rights. The returns from other lands cultivated by tenants were not considerable, since they paid him only nominal rents. He suffered a severe set-back and had to sell away portions of his land. With this, the Kunbi tenants who were till then enjoying his patronage, were left on their own.

We learnt from a local informant that originally there were eighteen Kunbi settlements, and nearly a third of them have since been deserted and at the same time, quite a few new settlements have come into existence. The existing number of settlements is fifteen and the total Kunbi population in the Bari region does not exceed 500.<sup>1</sup>

The Kunbis have long given up shifting cultivation, and with this change in their traditional occupation, their community structure has also undergone considerable transformation. The communal ties have suffered in being less extensive, since, the large settlements characterizing the "Kumri"<sup>2</sup> period have split themselves up into smaller settlements. The shifting cultivation was done collectively by all the working adults of an entire settlement and the yields thus derived was shared equally by all. Thus, a well-knit community organization was an essential prerequisite for shifting cultivation.

With the change-over to more settled agricultural practices, each individual family was in a position to cultivate its own piece of land, owned or leased, and a new basis for community organization was established. This is substantiated in some of the newly-established settlements. This new basis of community organization is found in the reciprocal relationships among individual working families.

Their entire life is organised around land and wherever there are facilities for cultivation, they establish themselves, even where others would hesitate to venture out.

Most of them are illiterate and their lives are very much guided by established customs and usages. They show a distinct disinclination to accept any idea or belief not in accordance with their tradition. To illustrate, their treatment of the sick may be mentioned; the sick are not treated by a qualified doctor and they believe that sickness is the result of evil influence of spirits, which can be dispelled by a person

1 The local estimates place this figure in the neighbourhood of 1000, which is definitely an exaggeration. In 1881, there were 125 Kunbis, see *Bombay Gazette* 15, i, p. 248.

2 Shifting cultivation.



with extraordinary powers, known as a "Gadiga". There are Gadigas among Kunbis, as among the other groups.

The Kunbis are brought under the Hindu fold, since their belief-system is organized around the fundamental principles of Hinduism. But their classification as a caste becomes doubtful in view of the distinct elements underlying their life organization. Ideas of superior and inferior do not very much colour their relationships with other groups, though one is often told by them that they do not accept food and drink from certain groups. They do not normally accept food from a stranger and even though they may not have anything against taking food from a Havik Brahmin, they eat only at such Brahmin homes, which they know of. The services of a Brahmin are required only at their marriage ceremonies and on all other ceremonial occasions, the presence of a Brahmin or any other person is not required.

The secret of Kunbi life is an abiding faith in the bounties of nature. The same faith which sustained shifting cultivation for generations also sustains all their activities connected with cultivation. Even where the temptations of other pursuits may be strong, their lives are still wholly dedicated to agriculture. They consider agriculture as their only vocation and they are extremely devoted to it irrespective of the returns.

The Kunbis have very few needs connected with domestic life and their lives can be characterised as one of subsistence, pure and simple. They do not seem to care very much for any other material acquisition except land and to own land is a persistent urge on the part of every Kunbi tenant. Their lives seem to be surrounded with a feeling of contentment when once the primary need of subsistence is fulfilled.

Very little part of their income from land can be invested in agriculture and large part of their income is used for subsistence. The traditional skill in basket making is used for meeting domestic requirements and the products are never meant for a market. The full potentialities of this traditional skill are yet very much unused.

# BIRTH AND DEATH RATE ESTIMATES FOR KARNATAKA STATE DURING 1961-71 USING DIFFERENT PROCEDURES

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and  
M. V. SHOLAPURKAR

## I Introduction :

The direct method of estimating the birth and death rates requires complete and reliable data on the number of vital events occurring from time to time in the population and at the same time a fairly reliable base data on the population and its characteristics for the purposes of estimation of rates. In both these requirements the data from the developing countries are grossly inadequate. In spite of persistent efforts for improving the registration of births and deaths, it is found that in India only 50% of the vital events are presently registered. The registration figures, if used, will be totally misleading both in determining the levels of fertility and mortality and the trends in these rates over time. In the various census conducted during the past three decades, an attempt has been made to compile data on births and deaths that occur to the census population or a sample of the same within the previous one year period. Analysis with such data has also revealed that there is a gross under enumeration of vital events reported to the census enumerators, as having occurred within a period of 12 months, prior to the enumeration.

In this context there is a need to apply indirect procedures for estimating the birth and death rates in developing countries, especially in India. It has to be recognized that these indirect approaches are not in any way substitute for measures for improving the birth and death registration or the quality of census data but only as stand-by estimates till such time direct estimates of vital rates could be obtained. It is also to be recognized that these indirect estimates are only approximations to actual situations mostly with unknown standard errors, and they are likely to vary depending upon the method that is applied as well as on the reliability of data that are used. Previous applications

of indirect procedures for estimation of fertility and mortality have indicated that there is considerable amount of variation in the estimates arrived by using different approaches. In this article an attempt is made to apply different procedures and to study the extent of variation observed in the empirical estimates of the birth and death rates.

## **II Methods of Estimation Adopted :**

The methods of estimating birth and death rates through indirect procedures, applied in the present study, can be classified in the first instance under two categories.

- a) Methods based on single census
- b) Methods based on two or more number of censuses

During the past two decades, a number of methods have been developed under each of the two categories mentioned above. In this article an attempt is made to apply the following methods to the population of Karnataka State based on the censuses of 1961 and 1971 with data available from other surveys, when needed, in order to arrive at estimates of fertility and mortality.

- a) Methods based on single census
  - 1. Coale and Demeney's method
  - 2. Bourgeois-Pichat's method
  - 3. Use of relative proportions in age groups
  - 4. Thompson's Index method
  - 5. Reverse Survival Ratio method
- b) Methods based on two censuses
  - 1. Forward Survival Ratio method

A brief review of each of the above methods is given below. Detailed description including the methodology and assumptions involved in these methods can be obtained from any standard text book of demography and the United Nations Manuals.<sup>16</sup> Only for the purposes of specifying the nature of data required and the major assumptions involved in the application of the methods, the following summary of each method is presented.

### **1. Coale and Demeney's Method :**

Coale and Demeney have suggested several methods for estimating vital rates, using the stable population theory. A review of these



methods can be obtained from Manual IV of the United Nations. One of these utilises data on the cumulative population distributions in a single census at ages 5, 10, 15, etc. upto 45 and the information on the growth rate of the population and, with recourse to stable population theory, estimates are derived for the birth rate. The birth rates are estimated for each of the cumulative population proportions at ages 5, 10,.....45 (9 estimates), and the observed population growth rate using the West "stable populations" in the Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations by the Princeton University. The median value of the birth rate based on these nine estimates is considered to be the most appropriate for the population. In case where there are likely to be errors in age reporting or coverage of the population in the censuses, the authors have recommended using the population proportions upto age 10 or to age 35, for the estimates of the birth rate. The death rate is obtained by subtracting the growth rate from the birth rate.

## 2. Bourgeois-Pichat's Method :

This method utilises data on (a) intercensal growth rate of the population (b) the proportion of the population aged at 5-14 to the population aged 5 and above, 'P' and uses the following regression for estimation of the birth rate. The regression is based on the inter relations found in the stable populations.

$$b = (3.76 p - 44.68 - r) / 1.076 \text{ and} \\ d = b - r$$

## 3. Use of relative proportions in different age group :

This method again uses the information on (a) intercensal population growth rate, and (b) the ratio of the populations in the age group  $x$  to  $x + 4$  ( $P_x$ ) to another age group  $x'$  to  $x' + 4$ , ( $p_{x'}$ ) and uses the following relationship.

$$\frac{5L_x}{5L_{x'}} = e^{r(x-x')} \times \frac{P_x}{P_{x'}}$$

Where  $5L_x$  is the life table stationary population between ages  $x$  and  $x + 5$  and 'r' is the annual rate of natural increase.

The level of mortality from a set of model life tables is chosen so that the above relationship is satisfied. In this paper we have employed the age groups (25 - 29 and 35 - 39). The age groups are chosen such that  $P_x / P_{x'}$  are almost same in the smoothed and unsmoothed data. This is just to take care of any bias in the smoothing process.

dures itself. From the age specific death rates corresponding to this level of mortality and the observed population age distribution, the death rate is computed. Addition of 'r' to the death rate gives the birth rate.

#### 4. Use of Thompson's Index :

Thompson Index is the ratio of the children under 5 to women aged 15-44 in the observed population divided by a similar ratio from the life table stationary population. Algebraically, Thompson Index is given by

$$Th = \frac{5 P_0}{_{30}P_{15}} \bigg/ \frac{5 L_0}{30 L_{15}}$$

In the case of stable population the relationship on simplification becomes

$$Th = e^{r(\bar{A} - \bar{a})} \left\{ \frac{1 + \frac{r^2 s^2}{2}}{1 + \frac{r^2 S^2}{2}} \right\}$$

Where  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{A}$  are respectively the average ages of the stationary populations below 5, and from ages 15 to 44, and  $s^2$  and  $S^2$  are the corresponding variances.

The above relationship can be written as

$$\begin{aligned} r &= \frac{1}{\bar{A} - \bar{a}} \left( \log Th + \log \frac{1 + \frac{r^2 S^2}{2}}{1 + \frac{r^2 s^2}{2}} \right) \\ &= \frac{\log Th}{\bar{A} - \bar{a}} \left\{ 1 + \frac{\log Th}{(\bar{A} - \bar{a})^2} \left( \frac{S^2 - s^2}{2} \right) \right\} \end{aligned}$$

The values of 'r' are computed using different levels of mortality from the model life tables. The mortality level that gives the observed growth rate is chosen. The death and birth rates corresponding to this level are computed and taken as appropriate estimates for the population.

#### 5. Reverse Survival Ratio Method :

The reverse survival Ratio method is based on the relationships

$$5 P_0(t) = B_{t-5, t} \times \frac{5 L_0}{5 l_0} \quad \text{and}$$

$${}_5P_5(t) = B_{t-10, t-5} \times \frac{{}_5L_0}{{}_5l_0} \times \frac{{}_5L_5}{{}_5l_0}$$

It assumes that population aged 0-4 at time 't' is the survivors of the children born during the period t-5 and 't' and population aged 5-9 is the survivors of the children born during t-10 and t-5. Using a suitable life table the population aged 0-4 and 5-9 is projected backward to get the number of children born during the decade. Once the number of births has been estimated, the birth rate is obtained using the population during the decade.

#### Method based on two censuses

##### 6. Forward Survival Ratio Method :

Forward Survival Ratio Method proposed by Coale, detailed in Manual IV arrives at the mortality level, in terms of life table indices and crude death rate. The population at time 't' is projected using various levels of mortality and the proportion surviving from age 'x' and over at time 't' is compared with actual population aged x + 10 and over at time t + 10. This is done for values of x = 0, 5, 10,.....40. The various life tables so selected (one for each value of x) are considered to be providing the range of mortality levels within which the true level of mortality of the population, possibly, lies. From these nine alternative levels the median level of mortality is recommended as a satisfactory selection.

Although the method is possibly relatively free from errors of age reporting, for comparison purposes it was decided to use smoothed age distribution of 1961 and 1971.

In all the methods employed here to estimate vital rates, only female population has been used. After obtaining birth rate for the female population, the birth rate for the total population is obtained by the formula,

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Total birth rate} &= \text{Female birth rate} (1 + \text{sex ratio at birth}) \\ &\times \frac{\text{Female population}}{\text{Total population}} \end{aligned}$$

#### Source of Data :

As indicated earlier the main sources of data are the censuses of 1961 and 1971. In the case of 1961 census, population distribution by



age, sex, and rural/urban status is available on the full count of the population. But similar distributions have not yet been published based on the 1971 census. Consequently the age-sex-marital distributions of the population obtained on the basis of analysis of a sample, 10% sample for rural areas, and 20% for urban areas, were used.

The reported age distributions in both the censuses (full census for 1961 and sample analysis for 1971) were found to be distorted with large errors of various kinds. In the 1971 census, reported ages of 44% of the population ended with digits 0 and 5. Therefore, it was decided to use smoothened age distributions for 1961 and 1971 census. The smoothened age distribution for 1961 for males and females is available in one of the census reports.<sup>4</sup> For smoothening the 1971 age distribution, the method of moving average as developed by S. P. Jain and applied to 1961 census, has been used. The method of moving average (eleven point moving average) can be briefly described as follows.

In the eleven point moving average method between the ages 8 and 67, the population in each age  $x$  was first obtained as an average of the eleven years  $x - 5$  and  $x + 5$ , and these were grouped in five year age intervals with multiples of five as the central points, such as 8-12, 13-17, 18-22. These total in the age groups were again smoothened by a three point moving weighted average method. Population in age group 'L' is connected as

$$P_L = 1/4 P_{L-1} + 1/2 P_L + 1/4 P_{L+1}$$

These were again redistributed to individual ages using Sprague multipliers and regrouped into conventional five year age groups. For the ages 67 and above, smoothened distributions were obtained by assuming that the second order differences above that age remain constant. The numbers in the younger ages 0 to 7 were estimated using the formula

$$Y = A + BX + CH^x$$

where 'x' is the age and 'y' is the number in that age. The procedure was adopted independently for each sex.

Apart from the error of age reporting, the population may be under or over estimated; corrections for this type of error have not been attempted, under the assumption that such errors are negligible.

As for the effect of migration it has been shown by J. M. Boute, S. J. that a constant stream of female immigrants constituting annually 4 to 5 percent of the receiving population, consisting of young adults and their children, does not produce an age composition markedly

different from what would exist in the absence of immigration<sup>16</sup>. For Karnataka the rate of immigration was estimated to be only 0.23 percent during 1951-61 by K. C. Zachariah and K. S. Seetharam. The rate of migration beyond 1961 was not expected to be higher in the study of population projection for Karnataka<sup>3</sup>. Therefore it can be safely assumed that estimates obtained in this paper are not affected by migration.

### Discussion :

The limitations of each methods are highlighted briefly below before presentation of the results.

i) Using Coale and Demeney Method wide differences are observed among the estimates based on C (5) to C (45), where C(x) denotes the proportion of population less than age x. Adjustments for declining mortality tend to increase the birth rate estimates. Coale observes that the estimate of the birth rate based on C(10) may be sometimes more reliable. The estimate based on C(35) would be more recommended owing to relatively large errors in age reporting below 10. In the presence of population stability as endured by unchanging or slowly changing inter censal growth rate. The estimate based on C(35) would be accepted with more confidence if it is close to the figure derived from C(10)<sup>16</sup>.

In the present analysis we have used smoothed age distribution owing to the presence of large scale errors in raw data and as such the question of effect of age misreporting does not arise. As expected C(10) and C(35) without adjustment for mortality declining yielded results which were quite close.

ii) The method based on the proportion of two age groups is sensitive not only to the selection of the age groups but also dependent on the extent of consistency of the estimates obtained by different age groups. It is rather difficult to say which age groups provides the estimate closer to the "true" value. The estimate will be lower or (higher) according as

$$\frac{5 P_x + Y_x}{5 P_{x'} + Y_{x'}} > \frac{5 P}{5 P_{x'}} \quad \text{OR} \\ \left( \frac{5 P_x + Y_x}{5 P_{x'} + Y_{x'}} < \frac{5 P_x}{5 P_{x'}} \right)$$

Where  $5 P_x$  and  $5 P_{x'}$  are true populations in the age groups x and x' and  $Y_x, Y_{x'}$  are the deviations from the true populations in the respective age groups.

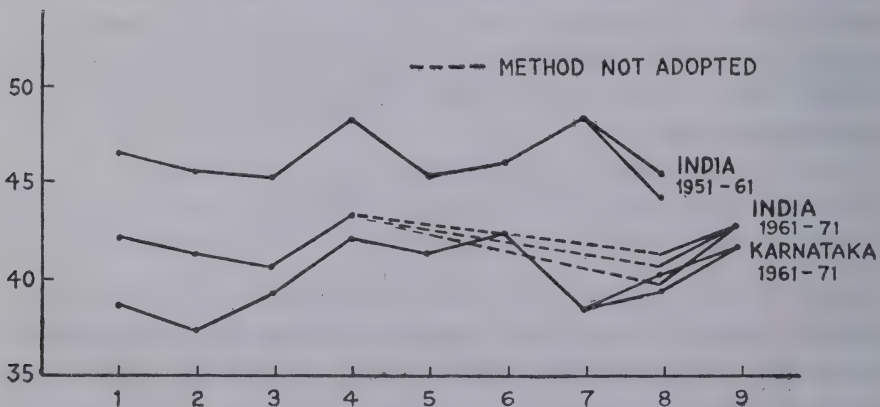
It follows, therefore, that the method is more affected by the errors of age reporting and age selective migration.

iii) Provided that the assumptions hold good, the efficiency of the method based on Thompson's Index depends on the estimate of  $\frac{5 P_0}{30 P_{15}}$ . Therefore it can be inferred that the errors in the estimation of number of children will also be reflected in the estimation of vital rates. It also seems that the method is less affected by under enumeration and migration.

iv) Forward survival ratio method is free from the assumption of stability. It is to a large extent free from the errors of age reporting. The efficiency of the method lies in the correct estimate of level of mortality. But at the same time it is sensitive to migration. Inmigration underestimates mortality, and thereby, fertility. Whereas in outmigration reverse is the case. This method gives more reliable rates for the country as a whole rather than states since inter state migrations is likely to be more.

v) The efficiency of reverse survival ratio method is dependent on the estimation of number of children and child mortality. The method is more sensitive to the age misreporting of children, under enumeration of children essentially underestimates the vital rates, without a proper knowledge of child mortality the method may give misleading results.

An attempt has been made in this paper to study the behavioural pattern of the methods in different situations. For this the estimates of the crude birth rate obtained by Rele and Sinha for the periods 1951-61, 1961-71 and our estimates are compared. The figure below shows the values of the estimates drawn against each method in the three





cases. It can be seen that the values obtained by C(35) after adjustment give a higher value compared to other estimates in all the three cases. The estimates obtained by C(10) after adjustment and C(35) without adjustment are likely to give a lower value compared to the remaining methods.

For a detailed analysis the methods were ranked according to the size of the estimate in each of the three cases. It was found that correlations between these ranks are not significant. Therefore we are unable to draw any general conclusions regarding the relative sizes of estimates obtained by different methods.

It is difficult to say which is a correct estimate of birth rate. The method suggested by Manual IV to estimate the pattern of mortality may not be satisfactory in this situation because it was observed that the Indian mortality pattern differs from West model pattern, especially for child mortality.<sup>1</sup> Since there is indication of declining fertility, stability assumptions may not be valid. This will affect the estimates based on stable population theory. Therefore the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the birth rate of Karnataka for 1961-71 is in the range of 38-40. The estimates for Karnataka, as well as those obtained by Rele and Sinha are presented in Table 1.

The estimates based on stable population theory and non stable theory were quite close. This calls for further investigation on the effect of non-stability on the estimators based on stable population theory.

It is desirable to have a method which utilizes readily available data and is based on less assumptions. Forward survival ratio method with repeated observations on age distribution of the population seems to be a promising one.

#### **Comparison with other rates :**

The estimates of crude birth and death rates available from different sources are presented in table 2. Mysore Population Studies<sup>15</sup> has given the birth rate around 40 for the period 1950-51. For rural population of Karnataka the N. S. S. has given the birth rate of 40.3 during 1958-59. The official estimate for the period 1951-60 is 41.6. Premi, in his detailed estimate of fertility for India and the State, gets the average birth rate of Karnataka in the range of 38.43 for the period 1956-61. The Sample Registration System for the later years of the decade 1961-71 gives the birth rate close to 33. Since the indirect

TABLE - 1  
Estimates of Birth and Death Rates for Karnataka (1961-71) and India (1961-71)

Method of Estimation	Karnataka				India	
	Female population		Total population		Total population	
	Birth rate	Death rate	Birth rate	Death rate	Birth rate	Death rate
1. Coale and Demeney Method						
i) From C (10) without adjustment	38.69	17.18	38.82	18.12	42.31	20.41
with adjustment	37.72	16.21	37.25	17.15	41.42	19.52
ii) From C (35) without adjustment	38.93	17.42	39.07	18.37	40.98	19.08
with adjustment	41.42	19.91	42.23	21.53	43.52	21.62
2. Bourgeois-Pichat's Method	41.12	19.61	41.26	20.55	—	—
3. Use of Two Age Groups	42.39	20.89	42.54	21.84	—	—
4. Use of Thompson's Index	38.30	16.79	38.43	17.73	—	—
5. Reverse Survival Ratio Method	40.47	18.96	40.59	19.89	40.83	18.93
		(e 8 female 43.6)			(Assumption 1)	
	39.84	18.33	39.96	19.26	39.75	17.85
		(e 8 female 45.0)			(Assumption 2)	
					41.14	19.24
					(Assumption 3)	
6. Forward Survival Ratio Method	41.79	20.20	41.86	21.16	42.93	21.03

\* Source : J. R. Rele and Sinha, "Birth and Death Rates in India during 1961-70 : A census analysis".  
*Demography India*. Vol. II, No. 2, Dec. 1973, pp. 11.

TABLE - 2  
Fertility and Mortality levels of Karnataka State during 1958-72  
Computed from Various Sources

Index	Year	1958-59 <sup>1</sup>	1960-61 <sup>2</sup>	1963-64 <sup>3</sup>	1966-67 <sup>4</sup>	1967-68 <sup>4</sup>	1968 <sup>4</sup>	1969 <sup>4</sup>	1970 <sup>5</sup>	1971 <sup>5</sup>	1972 <sup>5</sup>
Birth rate	Rural	40.3	N.A.	35.59	33.01	34.5	33.7	34.1	35.0	34.6	32.8
	Urban	N.A.	33.59	31.81	N.A.	N.A.	29.8	28.9	27.8	25.3	28.0
	Combined	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	33.0	31.7	31.5
G.R.R.	Rural	2.5	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	2.18 <sup>a</sup>	2.27 <sup>b</sup>	N.A.	2.2 <sup>c</sup>	2.2 <sup>d</sup>
	Urban	N.A.	2.23	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1.48 <sup>e</sup>	1.75 <sup>f</sup>
	Combined	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Death rate	Rural	15.4	N.A.	10.79	14.3	14.5	13.3	15.4	14.2	14.0	14.3
	Urban	N.A.	8.20	7.70	N.A.	N.A.	9.0	9.5	10.3	7.2	8.7
	Combined	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	13.3	12.1	12.8

Source: 1 National Sample Survey, Fertility and Mortality rates in India No. 76, 14th round : July 1958-June 1959.

2 National Sample Survey, Tables with notes on the Fertility and Mortality rates in Urban Areas of India- No. 180. 16th round : Aug. 1960-July 1961.

3 National Sample Survey, Tables with Notes on differential fertility and mortality rates in India, No. 175, 18th round : Feb. 1963-Jan. 1964.

4 Karnataka, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, A report on Sample Registration System in Karnataka, 1971-72 (S.R. S. Report Series No. 1).

4 a & b India, Registrar General, Vital Statistics Division, Measure of fertility and mortality in India, (S.R.S. Analytical Series No. 2).

5 India, Registrar General, Vital Statistics Division, Sample Registration Bulletin (Vol. IX, No. 1, January 1975 and Vol. IX No. 2, April 1975).

5 c, d, e & f Same as 4.



estimates gives the birth rate in the range of 38-40, rates as low as 33 for the second half of the decade seem unreasonable. One does not expect very high rates during the first half of the decade declining sharply around the middle of the period.

#### **Fertility decline during the decade :**

Changes in fertility are indicated by changes in child women ratio. These ratios calculated from 1961 and 1971 census data for Karnataka are presented in table 3.

**TABLE 3**  
**Child, Women Ratio Computed from 1961 and 1971 Census data for**  
**Karnataka, (based on female children only)**

Age groups used	Children per 1000 females		
	1961	1971	Percentage change 1961-71
0-4 / 15-44	368	351	- 4.6
0-4 / 15-49	339	324	- 4.4
5-9 / 20-49	365	363	- 0.5

Enough caution should be exercised in interpreting this table. The child women ratio for children aged 0-4 from 1971 census is lower by about 5% than that of from 1961. This small decline in child women ratio reflects a greater reduction in fertility because the decline in mortality, especially among children, has a tendency to increase the child women ratio. The child women ratio for the children 5-9 years does not show a significant divergence in these two censuses. This suggests that the level of fertility during early 1960's (as the 5-9 year old were born during 1961-65) probably did not differ substantially from the level of fertility that existed during the early 1950's.

The child women ratio based on children 0-4 is the outcome of the children born during the second half of decade. The change in it indicates that fertility has declined during the second half of the decade.

The Rates obtained by Sample Registration System show moderate annual fluctuations with a general declining trend. To study these trends regression lines have been fitted by Srinivasan for rural-urban areas over a five year period, viz., 1968-72, (both periods inclusive). A part of the results is furnished in table 4.

TABLE - 4  
Trend in the crude birth rates since 1968-72

Birth rate	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Regression
Rural	33.7	34.1	35	34.6	32.8	$Y=35.2-.43x^*$
Urban	N.A.	28.9	27.8	25.3	28.0	$y=28.8-.52x^*$
Combined	N.A.	32.84**	33.0	31.7	31.5	$y=33.59-.53x$

\* Based on only four points starting from 1969.

\*\* Estimated figures using rural urban proportion of 1971 census.

The origin of all these equation fitted is taken as 1968. Although the regression coefficients may not be significant still we can say that the birth rates have been declining at a rate of .53 per year, .52 points for urban areas and .43 points in rural areas.

#### Comparison with birth rate for India 1961-71 :

Estimates of Karnataka's birth rate obtained in this paper are generally lower than the estimates for India given by Rele and Sinha. For each of the methods used in both the studies Karnataka's estimate is lower than the estimate for India. The only exception is the reverse survival ratio method where Karnataka estimate was slightly higher than that for India. This may be due to the fact that for Karnataka we have used a lower expectation of life than that used by Rele and Sinha for India. In another study, Adlakha and Kirk<sup>1</sup> gave a birth rate for India in the range of 40-42, which is similar to the range of Rele and Sinha's estimate. Therefore one can safely conclude that the birth rate of Karnataka for 1961-71 was lower than that of India for the corresponding period.

#### Summary and Conclusion :

1. The birth rate for Karnataka during 1961-71 comes around 38-40.
2. Estimate obtained by the Coale and Demeney method based on the proportion of the population below age 35, and adjusted for mortality, gives a higher value as compared to other estimates in the cases studied.
3. There is no consistent pattern of over-estimation or under-estimation for the other methods.
4. Methods based on stable theory and non-stable theory gives results which are close.

5. Birth rate for Karnataka, in general is lower than that of India for 1961-71.

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## THE JANATA, THE JANATA PARTY AND IDEOLOGY

( A review article )

K. RAGHAVENDRA RAO

One should be very grateful indeed to Dr. Dharendra Sharma for producing an excellent compilation of documents pertaining to the emergency and the formation of the Janata movement leading to the emergence of the Janata party as the ruling party in New Delhi. The volume\* has been issued as an omnibus issue of the journal, *Philosophy and Social Action*, edited by Dr. Sharma. A welcome feature is the very modest price of Rs. 20, thus making it possible for almost anybody to buy a copy of it. Certainly, we have a long way to go before we can even claim to have acquired the barest minimum of data for a history of the crucial 19 months of the emergency, but, in the absence of any data other than that peddled by sensation-mongering revelation thrillers now flooding the market, the present volume should be welcomed for its authenticity. However, it is doubtful if a mere accumulation of more data is likely to clarify the main directions, patterns and perspective in the period. For the purpose of working out a broad and indicative understanding of the period, the present volume can be considered adequate. The key questions to be answered about the historical developments of the period may be formulated as follows: How did the opposition parties which had failed for more than three decades to forge any kind of unity of programme and action against the ruling Congress party, excepting in a limited number of regional contexts, get together to fight the Congress? Why did Mrs. Gandhi, apparently at the pinnacle of political power and glory, decide to call for the general elections? Why did the Janata party win in the elections, though in a manner converting it virtually into a regional party of the Hindi-speaking belt in North India? Finally, where do we go from here?

These are questions to which the present volume cannot give definitive answers in any sense. Yet anyone attentive enough can pick up information, insight and ideas, to construct a general framework within

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\* The Janata (peoples) Struggle: ed. Dharendra Sharma, New Delhi, Philosophy & Social Action, Publication, 1977

which such questions can be meaningfully raised, analysed and discussed. To my mind, cutting through all complexities and ambiguities, one can reduce the central issue to be one of ideological conflict-between the groups and leaders involved. By ideology, what is meant is growth of a theoretical consciousness rooted in objective group and individual interests. Further, the basic conflict was between, not only liberal democracy and Marxist democracy, but also within liberal democracy between kulak interest-ideology, supported by urban petty bourgeoisie, and the urban higher bourgeoisie. Within the leftist-Marxist ranks itself, there was a conflict between a tactic of supporting Indira Gandhi as anti-fascist (hence the opposition as fascist) and the tactic of opposing Indira Gandhi as a fascist (hence the opposition as liberal democratic). Thus we find a complicated tangle of ideologies and interests, and the present volume both reflects this situation and helps to disentangle them at the same time.

The editor highlights the tangledness of the situation even in his title by playing on the word "Janata." If he had not clarified in the title through a bracket that Janata meant "people", one would have taken it to mean the Janata party. Thus the title itself poses the crucial question of the relationship between the people and the Janata party. Who put whom in power? The fact that an explicitly Marxist party, the CPI(M), supported the Janata party in the elections does not mean that there is any structural collusion between the two. The CPI(M) supported the non-Marxist, anti-Congress party merely as a lesser enemy in the short run. Ideologically, the two are poles apart, and the common focus for them was, and remains, merely tactical. Not only the CPI(M), but the LSS (Lok Sangarsh Samiti) of Jayaprakash Narayan also, was opposed ideologically, in some ways, to the liberal democratic ideology. So were the Socialists like George Fernandes who, as a seasoned labour leader, had his problems with the liberal ideology, but *politically*, though not *economically*, Fernandes was hostile to the CPI(M). A document associated with the LSS shows its problems in a somewhat sharp light. Entitled, "Long-term Resistance Strategy (December 1975)", it argues, "...Lift emergency, or revoke censorship or restore civil liberties – are short term slogans. If the people which means the poorer sections, are to participate in this struggle in increasing numbers they should feel a stake in it. Emergency or censorship have not affected their daily life overtly. Civil liberties are not penetrated into their consciousness as basic values... We can convince the people that the curbs on civil liberties are coming in our way because we are honestly trying to pursue radical policies and programmes..."(pp 67-68).

This was a position close to that of the CPI(M) and Fernandes. But apparently, the LSS was internally divided over it, as the document itself points out, "...The constituents of the Lok Sangarsh Samiti, by affixing their signatures to the Charter of Demands presented by JP to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha on the 6th March 1975, have given *verbal* consent to the radical programme contained in it. But when it came to drafting an election manifesto for the Gujarat Assembly General elections, some of them had insisted upon watering down the radicalism of the 6th March. The results of these elections as well as subsequent elections to district and taluka panchayats and Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation have shown that in spite of the wide vocal propaganda unleashed against the ruling Congress, and in spite of the fact that JP and Morarji were suffering in the jails of Indira, the Muslims, the rural poor and the labour class have not switched over their allegiance to the Janata front .." (p 68) In essence, this is the genesis of the tactical and superficial radicalization of the subsequent Janata party. This basic tension between those wanting genuine radicalization and those flaunting a radical front as a tactical manoeuvre, runs right through the Emergency resistance movement, and, one may add, continues to immobilise the Janata party in power.

Within the Socialist group, we have leaders like N. G. Goray, who are under the spell of liberalism, and leaders like Fernandes who have a more explicit commitment to the working class. In between, we have the more pragmatic men like Dandavate. Even after the first documented move by the opposition to start a united party, the resolution of the steering Committee of the opposition parties, which met in Bombay on 22 and 23 May, 1977, to authorise JP to launch a party, the tensions continued (p 74). It becomes clear that, whether tactically or strategically, the opposition resistance to Emergency emphasised civil liberties as against the more radical content of its position. It attempted to educate the public on what they had lost during the Emergency through a detailed statement of JP issued on 26 June 1976, the first anniversary of the Emergency. This listed among the losers under Emergency practically all sections of the people in a kind of populist catchall style. It included the farmers, the poor landless labourers, journalists, teachers, social workers, businessmen, ordinary citizens, voters etc., and thus aimed at a broad-based people's front against Indira Gandhi (pp. 77-78). There is an interesting document which highlights the complications of interpreting the March 1977 election results too simplistically. Entitled "Suppression of Minority: Muzzafarnagar Resistance," it indicates the need to draw a distinction between family



planning programme *per se* and the bureaucratic imposition of it. (pp. 83-90). The incident referred to resulted in the death of a number of Muslims. There were other interests such as the lawyers, who supported the resistance on liberal grounds.

In the Jawaharlal Nehru University student context one finds the issue arising more as one between the CPI and CPI(M) tactical positions than between the liberal democratic and the radical (pp 201-247). The SFI represented the latter and the AISF the former position. The JNU Students' Union represented the liberal democratic opposition to the Indira regime.

In the formation of the Janata party, the documents presented show a good deal of ideological conflict between the BLD and the more radical elements. Charan Singh, for instance, opposed a suggestion of Ashok Mehta that the constitution of the new party should include the objective of establishing a "Socialist Society", and preferred the term, "Egalitarian Society". (Letter of Charana Singh to Ashok Mehta, dated 27 September 1976, Lucknow, pp 310-312). In the process of the emergence of the Janata party, the charismatic personality of JP seemed to have played a decisive role. He was able to bridge impassable ideological gaps, smooth over sharp personality conflicts and cast on the actors and their action a benign moral aura. But ideologically, JP himself was most strongly committed to liberal democracy, in spite of his occasional Gandhian misgivings about it. JP emerges as a hero in the party-formation phase of the anti-Indira resistance, George Fernandes emerges in his own right as a charismatic figure appealing to the younger and more radical elements, sustaining them during the period of underground resistance.

But neither JP nor Fernandes could have done what they did if the people had not provided them with an appropriate historical stage on which they could act. Indeed, the problem for the Janata party today precisely is to move closer to the Janata (people) who pushed them into power, and in this task the Janata party is bedevilled by internal ideological and organizational rifts. This is neither surprising nor deplorable. But what is important is that the Janata party cannot postpone indefinitely the decision over the struggle within its own leadership as well as rank and file between two opposed ideologies- the liberal democratic and the Gandhian. The grandfather figure of Morarji Desai will manage to keep the team going at a very minimal structural level but sooner or later the more historically significant functional issues will have to be faced.

As for Indira Gandhi, she does not appear in these pages excepting as an invisible villain. It is very surprising indeed that she sacrificed ideology for personal power. In the last analysis, she was neither a liberal nor a Gandhian nor a Marxist. Her rise was due to a pseudo-ideological claim and her fall was due to a total lack of ideological identification. When the curtains fell, she was all alone-neither supported by the party, class or any organised group. Her ideological emptiness was so deep that she made the greatest miscalculation of her life in calling the election at the time she did. In a way, Indira Gandhi's political downfall betokens the end of liberal democracy because she showed its basic structural self-contradictions. The Janata party in trying to restore liberal democracy to its pre-Indira Gandhi level are only postponing the crisis. Sooner or later, the Janata will assert against the Janata party. If they could pack home the architect of one of the most carefully structured personal tyrannies in Indian history, they will certainly find it less difficult to assert their power in a formally liberal climate. Dr Sharma's compilation should be welcomed as an invaluable source-material for writing the history of the rise of the Janata party, though one might wish the editing had been more helpful.

## SOME SCULPTURES OF MĀLEGITTI ŚIVĀLAYA AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION

SHRINIVAS PADIGAR

The Mālegitti Śivālaya (PL. I, Fig 1), situated ponderously on an overhanging crag of the northern rocky hill at Badami, is endowed with a few but iconographically and stylistically remarkable sculptures. In view of its recent identification as a Sūrya temple,<sup>1</sup> some of its sculptures entail remarks. Three of the five major sculptures of the temple are considered below.

### Dvārapālas :

On either side of the doorway of the Sabhāmaṇḍapa of this East-facing temple is a dēvakōṣṭha, each containing the figure of a man. The figure in the right is mutilated, but that it resembles the one in the left can easily be made out. Therefore, only that in the left is described here.

This figure (PL. I, Fig. 2) represents a warrior, standing with his legs slightly bent and holding a khaḍga (sword) and a khēṭaka (shield). Except the Kirīṭamakuṭa, the few ornaments that decorate his person are plain. The details of his body between the abdomen and the thighs make one to suspect that he is represented nude. At each of the four corners of the panel is a Kubja (dwarf), one differing from another in pose.

Stylistically, the sculpture belongs to the same idiom as that of the Viṣṇu and Śiva sculptures, appearing on the North and South walls respectively, of the same temple. The nudity of the figures, the simplicity of the ornaments and the rather vertically stretched nimbus (Prabhāmaṇḍala) behind the makuṭa are the characteristic features of all these sculptures. The last mentioned feature, i. e., the characteristic prabhāmaṇḍala, can also be noticed in some reliefs of Cave 1 at Badami and in some examples from Ellora.<sup>8</sup> The Khaḍga and the Khēṭaka are held the same way as in the Trivikrama relief of Caves 2<sup>4</sup> and 3<sup>6</sup> and the Aṣṭabhuja-Viṣṇu relief of Cave 3 at the former place. The



Plate I



1. Mālegitti Śivalaya, Badami



2. Dvārapālā, Mālegitti Śivalaya, Badami

Plate II



1 Sūrya chiding chhāyā ?  
Mālegitti Śivalaya, Badami

2 Sūrya chiding Chhāyā ?  
Durga Temple, Aihole





Kubja standing to the right of the main figure closely resembles the one standing to the left of the Vishṇu figure of the same temple. The stress on the nudity of the figures is peculiar to the Mālegitti śivālaya. It is pointed out that the Vishṇu figure on the North wall of this temple exhibits the influence of some late-Gupta or immediately post-Gupta sculptural traditions.<sup>6</sup> This observation, however, should be equally true of other sculptures of the temple, although the differences between the late or post-Gupta and Mālegitti sculptural traditions are manifest. Similar dvārapāla figures are yet to be noticed in other known temples of the Chalukya region.<sup>6a</sup>

Cousens, perhas misled by weapons these figures hold remarked that they might be portraits of some royal persons<sup>7</sup>. But as we shall see below, these figures represent the door-keepers of the Sun temple.

The Matsya-Purāṇa<sup>8</sup> and the Viśvakarma-śilpa<sup>9</sup> prescribe that the Sun-god should have two door-keepers, viz. Daṇḍa and Pingaḷa, each of whom should have a Khaḍga in his hand. Usually the Khaḍga and the Khēṭaka go together. The description of the dvārapāla figures under consideration is thus in conformity with the prescription of the above works. Therefore, the two dvārapālas of this temple should be identified as Daṇḍa and Pingaḷa.

### **Sūrya Threatening Chhāyā ?**

The sculpture now to be considered (PL. II. Fig. I) occupies the left recess of the antechamber leading to the garbha-griha. The two figures in it are those of a male and of an interesting semi-human female having the human bust for its upper portion and a horse's hind part for the lower. The former figure holds a gadā in his right hand and the hair of the latter figure in the left, while the latter (i. e. Kinnari, if she may be called so) holds an object looking like a rope in the right. Her left hand, however, is engaged in releasing her hair from the grip of the male. The left leg of the male is placed on the posterior of the Kinnari while the right is placed firmly on the ground. Both the figures wear a Kirīṭamakuṭa, but the Prabhāmaṇḍala is conspicuously absent. The gadā is plain and comparable to that held by Trivikrama in Cave 2 at Badami.<sup>10</sup> Ornamentation is limited.

It has been suggested that this figure might represent Vishṇu as Kēśava, slaying the demon Kēśi<sup>11</sup>. But, for the obvious reason that the demon Kēśi was male while the figure represented here is that of female, it is difficult to accept this identification. Sometimes it is described as



the figure of a male with a Kinnari.<sup>12</sup> It is, however, difficult to explain the occurrence of such a sculpture near the garbhagriha of a Sūrya temple. It may be of interest to note in this connection that a sculpture with a similar theme finds place on a pillar of the Durga temple— also a Surya temple<sup>13</sup>— at Aihole (PL. II, Fig. 2). This sculpture, again, like that described above, faces North. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the sculpture represents some theme connected with Sūrya.

Some Purāṇas relate the following story in connection with the birth of Aśvinis.<sup>14</sup> Saṃjñā (also called Surēṇu), the daughter of Viśvakarma, married Sūrya and bore Vaivasvata, Yama and Yamunā. However, she was unable to bear the heat and brightness of her husband. Therefore, she created a form viz. Chhāyā, exactly similar to herself, left her to look after her husband and children, and went back to her father's house. By Sūrya Chhāyā had two children viz. Sāvarnamanu and Śanaiśchara. Chhāyā did not treat the children of Saṃjñā with an equal eye and Yama, consequently, complained of this to his father. Sūrya, now worried, enquired what the matter with Chhāyā was but got no answer from her. Enraged by her silence, Sūrya took the hair of Chhāyā in his hand and threatened curse on her. The dread of curse made Chhāyā to reveal the truth before her husband. In anger, Sūrya went to Viśvakarma through whom he came to know of the real reason for Saṃjñā's departure, and now pacified, had his brightness reduced. Later, assuming the form of a horse, he joined Saṃjñā who herself was performing penance in the form of horse. By this union Aśvinis were born through the nose of Saṃjñā. Sūrya soon showed her his real form and happily took her back to his house.

The Sculpture under consideration, it is plausible, represents a part of this story. The scene here is probably that of Sūrya threatening curse on Chhāyā. The lower half a Chhāyā is carved in the form of horse possibly to suggest that Saṃjñā was in the form of horse.

#### **Conclusion :**

The identification of the dvārapālas as Daṇḍa and Piṅgaḷa and of the curious sculpture in the antechamber of the temple as 'Sūrya threatening Chhāyā', if correct (which it most probably is), confirms that the Mālegitti Śivālaya was a temple dedicated to Sūrya— a surmise for which we had hitherto relied only on the Sūrya relief over the door-frame of the garbha-griha.

**Acknowledgement :**

Fig. 2 of plate I and Fig. 1 Plate II are reproduced here with the courtesy of Dr. A. Sundara, whose co-operation in preparing this article the author thankfully acknowledges.

**Notes and References**

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- 2 Gupte, R. S., 1972, *Iconography of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains*, PLS. XI: 64 and XXVI: 144
- 3 *Ibid*, PLS. XXIII: 130, 133, 134; XXX: 163; and XXXII: 174 to 178; etc.
- 4 *Ibid*, PL. IV: 24
- 5 *Ibid*, PL. IV: 23
- 6 Harle, J. C., 1972, "Some Remarks on Early Chalukya Sculpture," *Aspects of Indian Art* (Ed. Pratapadityapal), pp. 65-69.
- 6a Similar dvārapālas are found flanking the garbha-gṛiha of Cave XXV at Ellora, which is almost certainly a cave-temple dedicated to the Sun-god.
- 7 Cousens, H., 1937, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pp. 53-54
- 8 Gupte, R. S., *op. cit.* p. 53
- 9 Gopinath Rao, T. A., 1971 (2nd Ed.), *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 302-3
- 10 An obvious departure from the āmalaka-topped gadā of the late- or post-Gupta tradition of the North
- 11 Cousens, H., *op. cit.*
- 12 Annigeri, A. M., 1960, *A Guide to Badami*, p. 50
- 13 Lippe, Aschwin, *op. cit.*
- 14 *Siva-Purāṇa*, Uma, 35; *Harivaṃśa*, 1, 9; *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*, 109

## A SURVEY OF RECENT STUDIES IN MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

G. R. KUPPUSWAMY

**I Introduction :** Historical studies in Modern India which started about the middle of the 19th century developed to a remarkable extent during the last 100 years and the contributions of our early Historians stand well in comparison with the developments in Historiography in other countries during the same period. An attempt has been made by the Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta to bring together in a comprehensive volume "Historians and Historiography in Modern India," the services rendered by about 40 eminent Historians of the 19th and early 20th century representing different parts of the country, periods and fields of interest, of whom 7 are British and 33 Indian Historians, mostly pioneers. The papers were read at the 6th annual conference of the Institute held at Srinagar in 1968.

The Medieval period of Indian History did not attract the attention of Indian scholars in any significant way until the early decades of the present century and even as in the case of the ancient period, the studies were inspired by regional pride and conscious desire to bring to memory the glories of the past. Jadunath Sarkar until the rise of newer schools, held the field as pioneer. His contributions are acknowledged even today as the greatest and influence considerable over a long period of time. Sir Safat Ahmad Khan whose actual writings were not equal to the ideals of Historiography held out by him in his presidential address at the Indian History Congress and Dr. Balakrishna who made first study of India's commercial relations during the medieval period may be classed with the pioneers. Prof. Habib did not make any remarkable contribution though he was courageous and frank enough to speak certain truths. Unlike as in the ancient period the pioneering attempts for the medieval period were not extensive in area and character and lacked much originality. Much spade-work was done in regional studies. Most of the Historians inspite of the limitations of the age and social and political ideas imbibed western Historical concepts and applied methodology prevalent at the time. Their approach was scienti-



fic and objective uninfluenced by personal, communalistic or nationalistic considerations. The Indian Historians had the decided advantage to utilize the source-material found in local language not open to foreign scholars.

**II Pioneers and their works :** The most important contributions of J. N. Sarkar included the following works : *History of Aurangzeb* (in 5 volumes), *Studies in Mughal India*, *Mughal Administration* (in 3 parts), *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, *Shivaji* apart from original contributions to a number of journals. His *History of Aurangzeb* related mainly to the character and policies of Aurangzeb with a short introduction to the reign of Shah Jehan. His work on Shivaji and His times created a stir in Maharashtra and pricked the pride of the Nationalist Historians. His remarks that Shivaji failed as a nation-builder and that most of his institutions were not original wounded their reputation. His *Mughal Administration* was a pioneering work on the subject; *Studies in Mughal India*, a brilliant collection of 22 essays. *The Fall of Mughal Empire* (4 volumes) traces the history of Later Mughals, based on a comprehensive and critical study of all kinds of original sources not previously utilized by the others. Its importance can hardly be overemphasised. It gives a brilliant analysis of the causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire.

Jadunath was the first scholar to insist on getting at all the original and contemporary source-material in different languages for which he made a thorough search. He regarded as indispensable a thorough search and acquisition of all contemporary material in all the languages concerned with his period of study. He subjected the Court chronicles and other Histories to modern methods of scientific scrutiny to ascertain their authenticity and never accepted them at their face value. He paid a visit to historical sites and places of religious and cultural importance to acquaint himself with the topography or terrain of the place and to see for himself the life of the common people reflected in his writings. His works were characterised by unity of conception, theme, presentation, direct and easy flowing language. He had his own conception of intelligibility and purpose in history. A believer in human destiny which meant character to him, divine justice and retribution, invisible and inexorable force at work-equated with effects of human action-inevitability of human action, and divine mercy. He had a host of critics, some of whom were frank and others openly hostile but none of whom could challenge him on his factual background or of deliberately distorting facts. There have been 2 or 3 honest points of

criticism (a) Banaras firman ignored in taking note of Aurangzeb's religious policy (b) his interpretation of zeziya not fair (c) Shivaji's murder wrongly considered as preventive murder. Aurangzeb's firman issued during the war of succession had nothing to do with his liberal religious outlook. The interpretation of zeziya was summing up of the views of contemporary muslim jurists and that Afzal was provocative before Shivaji struck him. A good deal of vague and uninformed criticism in certain circles and places in Bengal, Maharashtra and Aligarh-generally relate to his interpretation of the policies of Aurangzeb, authenticity of Marathi sources and Shivaji's place. He could not however analyse the Land Revenue System though he showed interest in Mughal Administrative System. He could not present a co-ordinated picture of the Agrarian System and his work is more a collection of anecdotes from contemporary manuscripts. Sarkar's impartiality has been attested by several scholars.

Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan, another pioneer historian who held the stewardship of Allahabad university held that the historian should always be faithful to the records and his main duty consisted in the analysis and interpretation of such records. His chief works were the following : *East India Trade in the 17th century*, *Anglo-Portuguese negotiations relating to Bombay-1660-1677*, *Sources for the history of British India in 17th century*, *John Marshall in India and the Historians of British India*. Dr. Khan in all his writings never departed from strict adherence to historicity and always based his conclusions on the source material whose authenticity he tested with meticulous care. According to him scientific history has no place for Imperial, National, Sectarian or class consciousness. Imperial interests are to be subordinated to the actual welfare interests of the common people. He was one of the early Economic Historians of India and he emphasised the importance of developing administrative history of Mughals as also Social History and study of political movements.

Dr. Balkrishna, who directed his energy to different subjects-religion, culture, economy, spent the best part of his life on his 'magnumopus' 'Shivaji the Great' (in 4 volumes). It attempts the reconstruction of History of Shivaji on original materials obtained through earnest and scrupulous research, cautiously cited and impartially used. His searches for bits of information covered the archives in London, Batavia, Hague, Bombay, Goa, Pondy, Madras and Tanjore. His second work *Commercial Relations between India and England* is a comprehensive and systematic study of the rise and progress of Indo-British trade in the 17th century till the establishment of

British power in Bengal. His object was to point out that oriental trade was not in any way inferior in value to the trade between Holland and E. I. C.

Among the early British Historians who took interest in Medieval Indian History and who founded a definite school of historical research, W. H. Moreland deserves a closer study. A keen student of Indian History, he made revenue administration his scope of research and made engaging history out of dry statistics. He had also the advantage of being administrator which he put to good use in bringing about changes in revenue administration besides writing works of interest to a student of Economic History. The Manuals which came out first included : *The Agriculture of U. P.* (1904), *The Revenue Administration in U. P.* (1911), and *Notes on Agricultural Conditions and problems of U. P.* (1913). The peasant and his welfare became the underlying motto not only in the Land Revenue Policy but in the wider context of Indian History and he was of the view that the cultivator or peasant paid for the greater part of the expenses of Government a maxim followed from the earliest times of Revenue history. His major work came out in 1920 when he wrote *India at the death of Akbar*—an economic study undertaken with a good grounding in Economics coupled with rich administrative experience and research fairly, organised. The theme in his work was not Akbar but the Indians and Indian people—the peasant. To him the working of economic forces was all that mattered in History. He tried to emphasise in this work though not accurately, the oppressive Mughal system as against Benevolent British System. The second work “*From the death of Akbar to Aurangzeb*” came out next in 1923 based on dutch sources. The lot of the peasant underwent a further deterioration. The last work appeared in 1929—“*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*”—which completed his enquiry into the practices of Land Revenue assessment in Medieval India. He jointly edited with Yusuf Ali “*Akbar’s L. R. System*” on the basis of *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Moreland was a believer in the primacy of economic forces and did not take into account influences of caste, social habit, religion, lack of trading practices, British impact on Society—which interact as much as economic forces. He could hardly rise above his narrow grove of revenue administration—which he held as the parent of Indian poverty—though in doing this he has restored the Indian peasant to his rightful place. Many of the practices for which Moreland held the Moghuls responsible continued to operate in the British period. Moreland is remembered for an accurate definition of terms—not always true—and he put to use documents and records never tapped before—Revenue



Reports, agricultural statistics, administrative reports and *farmans*. He had a zeal for new languages though his dependence on translations like those of Blochmann, Jarret and Dawson did not stand him in good stead— and led him to many inaccuracies. He was discriminating in the selection of sources and did not place reliance solely on muslim accounts which were mainly panygerics and therefore checked persian sources with Travel accounts— also partial. He also emphasised the importance of untapped regional sources and minor tracts-scattered and in private hands— which might help in correcting mistakes. His influence on contemporary and later historians was really great and a hunt for records and *farmans* launched by them. The later historians who followed him were P. Saran, Irfan Habib, B. R. Grover, especially Irfan Habib who has corrected Moreland on many points— in particular Akbar's mode of assessment, Aurangzeb's enhancement, interpretation of *Dahsala*, *Zamindar*, *Nasq*. He also believed that Moreland magnified administrative oppression beyond measure, who said nothing beyond revenue administration. Still he remains unassailed in most of his conclusions and later historians owe deal of debt to this pioneer. His works however, came down to 1658 and left out of account the development in the momentous reign of 50 years under Aurangzeb. His approach was essentially didactic. He could not get rid of Imperialistic outlook. Being un-acquainted with modern Revenue terminology he based on imagination. He made questionable surmises on the collapse of the Moghul revenue administration and had no clear idea of its working. The greatest merit was that he explained the Mughal Revenue System in the background of ancient and early medieval period to give a coordinated picture of agrarian features through the ages. His views needed a radical alteration though his call for the preparation of a comprehensive and objective study of Economic conditions during the Mughal period is highly desirable.

**III Recent Studies :** During the last fifty years or so, a major change is noticed in the direction and methodology of Indian Historiography— namely an increasing interest in the study of social, economic, religious and cultural history of Medieval India. It was not till a century almost after the west that the need for social studies dawned upon medieval Historians, while earlier scholars concentrated mainly on the political History— with little reference to social elements. After E. Thomas' study of coins of Pathan Kings and Revenue resources of the Mughal Empire in 1871, there was nearly a gap of 50 years. J. N. Sarkar's "The India of Aurangzeb" did not strictly constitute Economic History. Moreland's companion volumes was followed by Hodiwala's

studies in Numismatics in 1923. Now came in quick succession volumes on Socio-Economic History—Balakrishna's *Commercial Relations between India and England*; D. Pant's *Commercial Policy of Moghuls* (1930); R. K. Mukerji's *Economic History of India (1600-1800)*; K. M. Panikkar's Volumes particularly his *Asia and Western dominance* and his stress on Geo-political factors, importance of Navy; R. K. Mukerji's work on *India's Sea-borne trade from earliest times*; K. K. Datta's *Survey of India's Social life and economic conditions in 19th century* (1961). During the last decade useful books on Economic History of Medieval India—both on all-India plane and regional plane-produced; Irfan Habib's *Agrarian System of Mughal India* an outstanding book on the Economic History of the period. K. S. Lal has touched on the economic aspects in his 'A Political Social Cultural History of the Sultanate' (1398-1526). Mention may be made of P. N. Chopra: *Some aspects of Social life during the Mughal Age* (1964); Mrs. Anjali Chatterjee: *Bengal in the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707)* (1967); J. N. Sarkar: *Studies in Economic Life* (1975). At the regional level the works produced in the 19th century, as Miller's *Canara Past and Present* (1844), W. Logan's *Malabar Canara Past and Present* were not strictly speaking economic histories. The works of K. M. Panikkar *Malabar and the Portuguese (1500-1653)* and *Malabar and Dutch* (1931) as well as T. K. G. Panikkar's *Malabar and its folk* present a systematic description of the social conditions and institutions of Malabar. A. Appadorai's *Economic Conditions in South India* (in 2 volumes), T. V. Mahalingam's masterly analysis of Economic Life in Vijayanagara Empire (1952 Revised now), a number of monographs on Kerala and Coromandel coast as for instance T. K. Raychauduri's *John Company in Coromandel; A study of Inter-relations of European Commerce and Traditional Economics*; A. Dasgupta's *Malabar in Asian Trade* (1967) cover up South India. Among the recent works relating to the other provinces mention may be made of Nijjar's *Punjab under the Great Mughals* (1968), R. N. Ghosh's *A Study of some tension in Economy in Bengal* (1968); Ferbur's *Bombay Presidency in the mid-18th century-* (1965); *Economic Conditions of Sindh (1592-1843)*.

Of the recent works on the Administrative aspects of the Muslim Rule in India, I. H. Qureshi's *The Administration Mughal Empire* intended to be a companion volume to his earlier work *The Administration of the Sultanate* is far from being a pioneer effort. There are a number of monographs on individual reigns, V. A. Smith *Akbar*; Beniprasad *Jahangir*, Saxena *Shahjahan*, J. N. Sarkar *Aurangzeb*, Irvine *Later Mughals*; Satish Chandra *Parties and Policies at the Mughal Court (1707-1738)* the last being a valuable study with special reference to the role of nobility.

There are several full length studies of the Mughal administration which merely form chapters in the work under discussion. For instance Ibn Hasan *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*; P. Saran's *Provincial Government of the Mughals*; Q. Hussain's *Administration under the Mughals*; Sri Ram Sharma's *Mughal Government and administration* Abdul Aziz's *Study of Treasures* and another on *Mansabdari System*. But the work of Qureshi besides over-coming the shortcomings of the earlier work particularly those of the pioneers (Sarkar, V. A. Smith and Moreland) who depended on translation; discusses a number of controversial problems at length and offers a more satisfactory interpretation of available data. An integrated picture emerges and a logical correlation established among different institutions.

The Aligarh Muslim University undertook the work of making a detailed and a proper study of fresh material especially documentary evidence to put on a scientific basis the administrative, social and economic history of the Muslim Rule particularly relating to the Mughal period. N. A. Siddiqi's *Land Revenue administration under the Mughals (1700-1750)* (1970) forms part of such studies and aims at a detailed study of the Land Revenue administration in the first half of the 18th century. Besides examining some fresh evidence, some new problems as the nature and magnitude of the Land Revenue demand, the institution of the zamindari system and its ramifications, revenue farming, and the working of *wizerat* and its impact on the Agrarian system have been studied in detail. In a way it overcomes the defects of Moreland's study which was based mainly on the British records and does not examine in all its implications the agricultural crisis which over-took the country in the 18th century. He did not attempt to correlate it with Land Revenue Administration.

The recent studies conducted by Soviet Historians and their contributions to the Economic History during the period of Muslim Rule deserve to be mentioned. They do not fill up all the avenues of research nor are they of uniform academic standard. They are split into 2 opposite camps, holding diametrically opposite views on the nature of the economy during the Muslim period. One school led by Prof. Reisner who mooted his thesis in his 'Popular movements in India in the 17th and 18th century' and supported strongly by Dr. (Mme) Anotonova stresses the essentially feudal character of the Economy and ascribe the rising of the Jats, Sikhs and Marathas against the Mughal Rule to the economic discontent. It was the feudal nature of the economy which brought about the break-up of the Mughal Empire. The other school sponsored by Dr. Pavlow, Dr. Alazv, Dr. Chicherov



and Dr. (Mme) Ashraf entirely disagree with the above view. Though the Mughal Economy was mainly feudal there were elements of capitalism in Indian Economy but they were not strong enough to start a consistent movement. On the whole the Soviet-Historians have weared round to the second view point confirmed by the views expressed in the *New History of India*— a combined project of Soviet Historians— which perhaps represent the correct position.

One of the unfortunate trends noticed during recent times is the frantic but futile attempt on the part of some scholars to give a new colouring to the policies of medieval rulers and their Governments. The lead is taken it is said by a well known Centre of Medieval History where monographs and papers are continuously produced to show that none of the medieval rulers were motivated by any religious considerations in dealing with the non-muslims but prompted wholly by political considerations. S. M. Jaffar in his work "*Mughal Empire*" has tried to challenge the views held by some orthodox Historians like Shri Ram Sharma as represented in his "*Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*." He has also attempted to give a rightful place to the enduring contributions of Islam to the cultural Heritage of India, the outcome of which is his work "*Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*."

It is agreed that there is a paucity of workers of sustained interest. The reasons are to be found in the partition of India and dearth of scholarship in Persian and the void created by the passing away of some of the eminent Historians. Medieval History is now a less frequented path of research and even among living scholars attention devoted more to political than the study of Socio-Economic aspects. The problem is to be tackled on the all India and regional planes— from 4 angles— namely— access to sources and their evaluation, collection of material, systematisation and marshalling of facts, discovery of their inter-relation and final interpretation.

## A STUDY OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION OF PROFESSIONAL AND NON-PROFESSIONAL COLLEGE STUDENTS

K. R. MALLAPPA  
and  
S. S. AVARADI

The meaning of motivation has been a controvertial subject and a topic of key interest to psychologists. The idea of motivation or some similar concept appears in almost every theoretical account of behaviour. Many psychologists as well as the philosophically oriented predecessors have expressed the existence of some kind of moving, pushing, driving or energizing force. An amazing divergence of opinion exists as to the nature and functions of motivation. A motive as defined by habitual usage is "Some thing" that caused a person to act. In general motive may be described as the factor which explains the direction vigour, and persistence of all individuals action. There are different types of motives which energises human action.

The present study will attempt to analyse the achievement motivation in professional and non-professional groups. The achievement motivation is a kind of psychological motive. The individuals may be concerned with making and retaining a good relations with other individuals of society or he may be concerned with making money and maintainance of his status and position in the society concerned. Such as these indicate the achievement motivation.

Work on n'Ach is of recent origin. Though the work on mental analysis of animal learning was there eversince, Darwin's theory of evolution the problem of measuring human motivation was not attempted by psychologists till nineteen forties. The work was initiated by Meclelland and his associates in 1948 on n'Ach. The first report of this appeared in 1953. In 1958 Atkinson and his associates later edited further work on n'Ach which employed T. A. T. technique (1-224). Researcher's have long back identified some sort of n'Ach in human beings in the form of a instinct of workmanship. "Achievement motive

is a hypothetical construct designed to explain inter and intra individual differences in the orientation, intensity and consistency of achievement behaviour (*Encyclopaedia of Psychology* by Eysinck) Heckhausen defined n'Ach "as the tendency to maintain and increase individual proficiency in all areas in which a standard of quality is taken up as binding" (31-18). It may be described as a tendency that defines one's own goal according to some standard of excellence in the product or performance of a certain act or behaviour.

According to McClelland the basic principle for a definition of motive is the "connection of an accepted change in effect with specific conditions and for delimitation of different motives. In the case of n'Ach these expectations of the individual standard of quality (2-18).

McClelland and his associates developed a method by which factitious productions are used for measuring n'Ach.

They are of the opinion that all Psychological motives are learnt. They develop out of repeated affective experiences connected with certain types of situations and situations should involve some standard of excellence. If successful produces positive effect or negative, if unsuccessful. It is the variation in expectancy which produces the result, strong, good, weak or bad.

A number of studies in the field of n'Ach have been reported McClelland, Atkinson, Edward, E. G. French, Walter, R. Reitman, Raphelson, Martre, Hardy and many have contributed valuable light on the subject.

In India Mukherjee (1965) studied the self ratings of high and low achievement oriented groups, using his test of achievement motivation. He reports high achievement group to rate themselves higher in perseverance and lower on intellectual ability (3-223).

In 1967 Pande and another studied personality of achievement oriented individuals using M.P.I. and Mukherjee's sentence completion list.

The studies of Mehta, Muthayya, provide a variety of investigations in the area of achievement motivation. Muthayya studied (1967) the relationship between achievement motivation and autocratic and democratic attitude. Found no significant relations between them. His other study is personality and achievement motive; personal aspiration and achievement motive (4-47).



Bimaleswara De and Khan (5 137) studied the relationship of n'Ach and the two personality dimensions.

Siddequi and Aktar (1969) studied n'Ach and discipline (4-85).

Tamankar studied that the released and aroused mental conditions would give rise to a difficult intensity of n'Ach (6-111)

Aron studied rural and urban teachers.

P. N. Dave studied n'Ach and risk taking behaviour (7-7).

Sinha (1967) reported that first born to have more n'Ach.

Laxmi reported to explore the rate of learning and n'Ach (11-28) But major study in the area of achievement motivation by P. Mehta (1967) has given impetus to undertake further studies to a large number of research workers. He has studied the problem in relation to various aspects. But the most significant one is in relation to educational growth (8-33).

### **The present study**

The present study is an attempt to find the differences of achievement motivation in different professional and non-professional College students. It was attempted to find out and analyse the difference between achievement motivation of different professional and non-professional college students. Besides variables like rural-urban birth order, family structure, parents occupation are also considered.

### **Material used**

The test used in the present study is Dr. B. N. Mukherjee's sentence completion test to measure the achievement motivation as this has been proposed as a reliable and valid tool for the measure of achievement motivation (16-287).

### **Sample :**

Two samples were drawn from the professional and non-professional college students at random. The total is 280. 140 professional students and 140 non-professional students. The professional sample is drawn from Medical College, Engineering College, Education College and Law College. The non-professional sample is drawn from other general courses.

The achievement motive test was administered to these groups.

**Scoring :**

In the present study, the scoring method of sentence completion test was similar to that of Meena Singru (10-41) in which the checking of only one response which truly corresponds with the subjects feeling and attitude or one which he likes most.

**Statistical analysis :**

To study the relationship of achievement motivation with the variable taken into consideration, Mean variance, SD, and Z Value were calculated.

**Analysis of the findings :**

Table-I showing the statistical measures of achievement motivation scores of professional and non-professional college students.

Statistical measures	Professional group	Non professional group	Z Value
Mean	18.75	18.06	4.9
S. D.	13.20	10.08	

This shows that there is not much difference in the mean score of achievement motivation. But the S. D. suggests that there is a large difference in the achievement motivation of professional and non-professional college students. The variability is more in the case of professional group. The obtained Z value is 4.9 which is greater than 1.96 and significant at 0.05 level. Hence there is significant difference between professional and non-professional college students in the achievement motive.

An attempt was made to find out any significant difference exists between the professional and non-professional groups coming from the rural area.

	Mean	S. D.	Z Value
P. G.	18.06	6.81	
Non-P. G.	18.46	6.64	.46

The above scores indicate that there is no significant difference either in the mean value or variability. The Z value is less than 1.96 at 0.05 level significance. This shows that there is no difference among the two groups coming from rural area.

With regard to two groups coming from urban area a difference was found in their achievement motive. The obtained scores were given below :

	Mean	S. D.	Z value
P. G.	15.12	7.071	2.5
Non P. G.	18.60	6.94	

The above scores indicate that there is significant difference in the two groups coming from urban area. This might be due to the fact that opportunities and facilities are more for people living in urban area. This may evoke a competitive tendency and hence we find the difference.

Further analysis was made to find out the influence of parents occupation on the achievement motive of the professional and non-professional group. The various statistical measures obtained showed no significant difference. The Z value was 1.21 which is not significant at 0.05 level.

But with regard to the professional and non-professional groups whose parents occupation is business the following is the results obtained.

	Mean	S. D.	Z Value
P. G.	20	6.32	
N. P. G.	12	5.67	2.8

The glance at this shows that the two groups differ significantly. The Z value obtained is 2.8 which is significant or 0.05 level. The sample whose parents occupation is business there is direct influence on the achievement motive.

In the case of the sample whose parents are employed in good position also showed significant difference between, the two groups. The Z value obtained in this case is 2.10 which is significant at 0.05 level. This shows the nature of the parents employment has greater influence on the achievement motive of the two groups.

With regard to the sample whose parents occupation is other than the one's discussed, lower occupations above showed no significant difference between the groups. The Z value of 1.11 is not significant of even 0.05 level, might be due to lack of opportunity or other factors.

Further analysis with regard to the first born and later born professional group did not yield any significant difference. The Z value of



the former is 1.5 and the latter is 1.3 which is not significant at .05 level. This shows that the order of birth is nothing to do with the achievement motive which contradicts Mr. Sinha's findings.

The family structures has direct influence on the achievement motive of the professional and non-professional groups. The professional groups coming from joint or single family has more achievement motive than the non-professional group. The Z value from the former is 4.1 and the latter is 4.8 which is quite significant.

### **Conclusions :**

From the light of the above findings the following conclusions can be drawn :

1. There is significant difference between the professional and non-professional colleges student with regard to achievement motive.
2. The rural group shows no significant difference.
3. The urban group shows significant difference.
4. With regard to the influence of parents occupation only, the sample whose parents occupation is business and good employment shows difference.
5. The order of birth has not shown any difference.
6. The structure of the family has influence on the achievement motive of the professional and non-professional groups.

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# THE PRE-MESOLITHIC AND THE MESOLITHIC INDUSTRIES OF PALAVOY, SOUTH INDIA\*

V. RAMI REDDY

## I. Introduction

Eversince Robert Bruce Foote (1914 add 1916) through his pioneering work laid foundation for the South Indian prehistoric and protohistoric archaeology, great advances have been made in unveiling the hoary past of its many extinct cultures that would be of much significance for an understanding of our country's early development. Of these, the Southern Neolithic culture, as known from a large number of surface and several excavated sites spread in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, presents a fairly good picture of the lifeways of the people. But at some of these sites, particularly at the excavated ones such as Sanganakallu, Kupgal, Bangaltota and Palavoy, there started coming to light, from the basal zone separated from the true neolithic horizon by a sterile deposit, a kind of material evidence which is strikingly different from that of the neolithic culture. This evidence merited the recognition of a new cultural period known as the Pre-neolithic Period. Recent researches have clearly shown that the problem of the pre-neolithic industries has acquired a spectacular dimension and attracted the attention of number of archaeological anthropologists.

The credit of discovering and deciphering these industries for the first time as a separate cultural entity, in the excavations on the top of the 100-feet high Sanarasamma Hill at Sanganakallu, about five kilometers northeast of Bellary town on the Bellary-Moka road in Karnataka state, goes to the late Subbarao (1948 and 1949) The industries consisting of several heavily patinated flakes of trap and sandstone, and microliths of quartz and chert respectively were assigned

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\* This is a revised version of the paper presented at the 63RD ANNUAL SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS held at WALTAIR under the auspices of the Andhra University from January 3 to 7, 1976; And *Proceedings of the 63rd Session of the Indian Science Congress, Part III: Abstracts*: pp. 9-10

to Phase I representing the earliest occupation at the site, while the succeeding Phases, II and III, were of neolithic and megalithic character. The archaeological relevance of these industries is further highlighted by the presence of a thin barren layer (12) between Phases I and II at this site. A fresh investigation of the problem was undertaken after a lapse of one-and-a-half decades at the behest of Professor H.D. Sankalia in 1964-65, when Ansari and Nagaraja Rao (1969) excavated the site again simultaneously followed by the ashmound excavations at Kupgal (Mujumdar and Rajaguru 1969) and the one at Bangaltota (Sankalia 1969)—both situated at the foot of Sanarasamma Hill. These small but carefully conducted excavations yielded evidences which amply substantiated the earlier one encountered by Subbarao.

Two other sites characteristic of these industries are T. Narsipur and Hemmige both located in the Kaveri Valley of the Mysore district. But the evidence at both these sites has not directly come from the excavations. The T. Narsipur tool-complex mostly comes from surface and lacks stratigraphical context (Seshadri 1971 : 20 and 56; Pl. 4 and 5), while at Hemmige too, the tools have been collected from surface along the bank of the river Kaveri between the bathing ghat and the 'new dam', although the discoverers based on their observations of the river sections incline to view these as belonging to a lime Kankar-gravel deposit interposed between the basal rock and the river alluvium (Hanumantha Rao and Nagaraju 1974 : 75).

But all the other excavated habitation sites—Brahmagiri (Krishna 1942; Wheeler 1948), Maski (Thapar 1957), Nagarjunakonda (Soundara Rajan 1958), Piklihal (Allchin 1960), Bainpalli (IAR 1964-65), Tekkalakota (Nagaraja Rao and Malhotra 1965), Hallur (Nagaraja Rao 1971), and Terdal (Sundara 1971); or ashmound-cum-habitation sites—Utnur (Allchin 1961) and Kodekal (Paddayya 1973)—have not yielded any evidence of the pre-neolithic industries under discussion.

With this account in view, let us now elucidate the evidence recovered from the ashmound excavations at Palavoy, which forms the topic of the present paper.

## II. The Site of Palavoy and its Physiography

The Palavoy village (14° 30' N. latitude and 77° 10' E. longitude) is about eight kilometers to the southeast of Kalyandrug town on the Kalyandrug-Dharmavaram road in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. The site lies at the western foot as well as on the top of a



huge granite hill about two kilometers to the southeast of the village and immediately to the southern side of the Kalyandrug-Dharmavaram road (Fig. 1). Its archaeological potentiality was recognised when it was first discovered in 1966 (Rami Reddy 1968). The site covers all along the entire hill-length in the north-south direction and top, and is the best preserved from the point of excavations. It is characterised by neolithic habitational deposits in different localities, four ashmounds of varying sizes, and several megalithic monuments such as menhirs, cists, stone circles, passage burials and so on.

Its physio- and orographic features are almost similar to the those of other places of Anantapur district and of the adjoining Bellary and Tumkur districts of Karnataka as well. Aridity and treelessness combined with groups of isolated granite hills interspersed by the worst type of red sandy soils are the predominant features. The existence of many natural springs close to the site is a prevalent phenomenon. Geologically, the site belongs to the Archaean Complex; the chief rock types are dolerites, schists, gneisses, quartzites, amphibolites and epidiorites, all of the Dharwarian age. At least three dykes—two of dolerite and the third of diorite—were noticed in the vicinity and these must have formed the main source of raw material for the Early Man for the fabrication of his tools and weapons. Besides, a number of quartz veins that traverse the hill are present. Pennar and Hagari, the only rivers that drain the Kalyandrug taluk, are about 15 km. to the east and west of Palavoy. Climatologically, the area claims to belong to an arid natural division. March to May are the hottest months in a year when the temperature ranges from 98°F. to 107°F. It gets cooled down in June due to the southwest monsoon. The winter lasts from November to January during which the temperature falls to 62°F., with an average daily minimum ranging between 62°F. and 68°F. During the months of August, September and October the area receives an average annual rainfall of about 52 cm.

### III. The Excavations, The Strata and The Culture

The excavations were carried out in January-February, 1967 under the general guidance of Professor H. D. Sankalia, the doyen of Indian Archaeology. In all, six trenches—two each on ashmounds I and II, and habitational areas were dug. The main excavation was conducted on ashmound I (trenches 1 and 2). To corroborate the stratigraphy and cultural sequence in this mound, other trenches were taken on ashmound II and in two habitational areas respectively. The excavations as based on trench 1, ashmound I revealed a sequence of 14 layers, which could

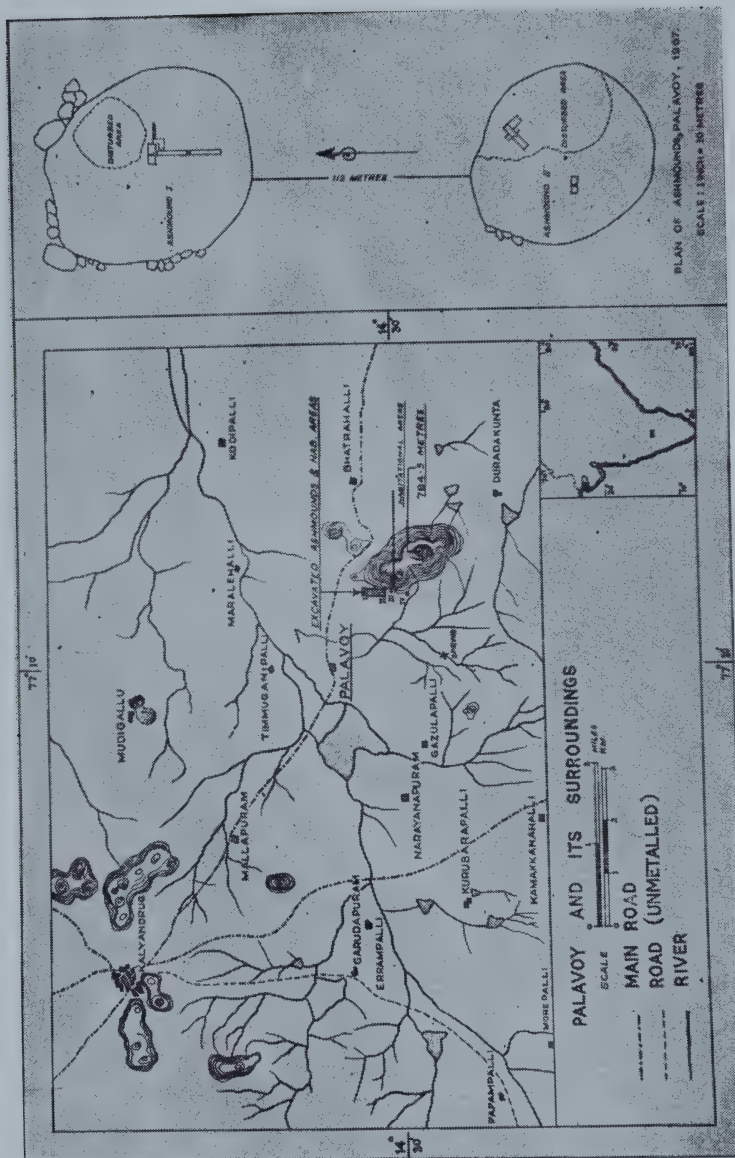


Fig. 1

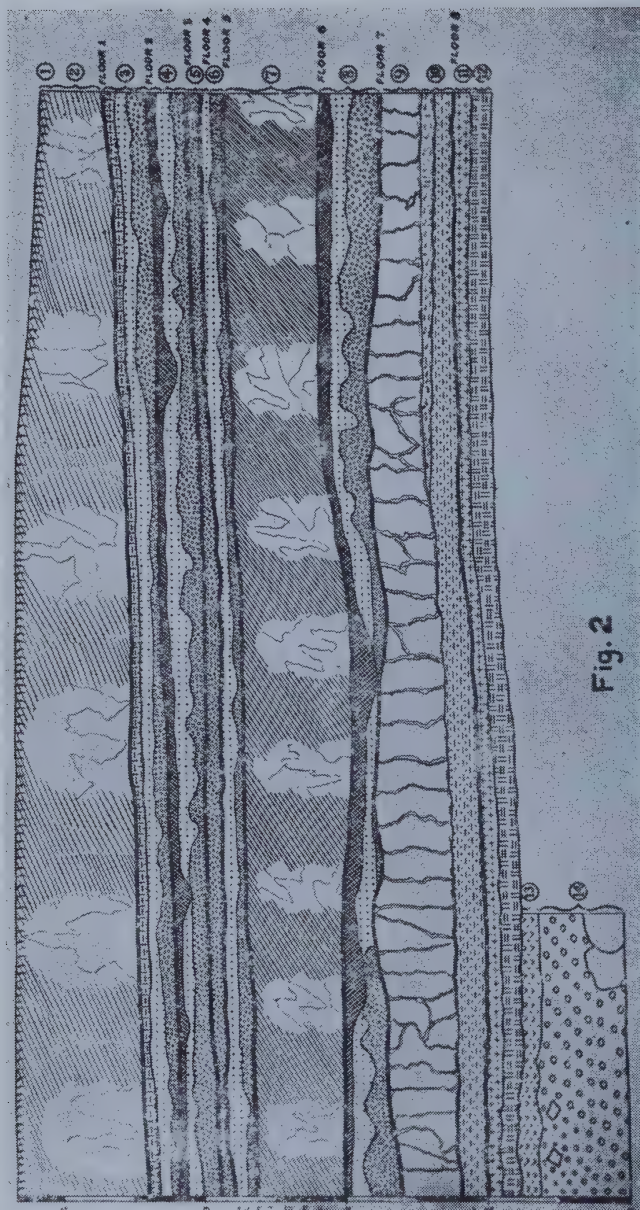


Fig. 2

Palavoy : Ashmound 1, Trench 2, Section Facing South



be divided into three cultural periods. They are the Pre-neolithic Period (Palavoy I), Neolithic Period (Palavoy II), and Post-neolithic Period (Palavoy II) (Rami Reddy 1972 : 125-135; 1974 : 1-19).

The topmost layer (1) represents the humus at the site. The underlying layers, from 2 to 8, with a thickness of 0.52 to 2.70 meters belong to the Post-neolithic Period characterised by iron age remains such as pottery of various fabrics, iron implements and iron ore and slag lumps. These ash deposits are thought to have been formed due to primitive iron-smelting activities (Rami Reddy 1975a : 1-20). The cultural deposits of layers 9 to 11 of 20 to 120 cm. thickness belong to the Neolithic Period, which portrays a good picture of the pattern of life of the early farming folk, and is comparable to that documented at other peninsular Indian sites. The late neolithic folk of Palavoy survived about 4000 years back. Layers 12 and 13 are sterile, together have a thickness of 22 to 35 cm., and did not yield any antiquities. The lowermost stratum, or layer 14 lying below the sterile strata, which has a thickness of 60 to 65 cm. at which rock was touched in the main trench, is designated as the Pre-neolithic Period. It consists of the virgin soil of brownish red murum mixed with disintegrated granite pieces (Fig. 2 and Plate 1). The details of both the industries of this cultural period and their significance which concern us at the moment are presented in the following paras.

#### IV. The Pre-Neolithic Industrial Traditions

The Pre-neolithic Period of Palavoy as mentioned earlier is stratigraphically separated from the succeeding period (Neolithic) by a couple of barren layers. The area dug at this level measures 2 × 3 meters in the western portion of trench 1 and 4 × 2 meters in the southernmost part of trench 2, both of mound I. The two industries that characterise this period are: (1) the pre-mesolithic industry, comprising deeply patinated basaltic flakes; and (2) the mesolithic industry, consisting of blades and microliths. The finds of the former industry occurred at the basal portion of layer 14 touching rock, while those of the latter were recovered from its topmost level touching the sterile layers. This indicates that the patinated basaltic flakes are older in antiquity than the blade and microlithic industry. The period is completely devoid of pottery or any other remains.

#### IV. The Pre-Mesolithic or Patinated Basaltic Flake Industry ( Fig. 3, Nos. 1-4 )

This industry is characterised by 28 patinated flakes, all of which are made on basalt. Of these, 16 were recovered from trench 1, and

the rest from trench 2. All the specimens are affected by a very deep brownish patination.

Twenty-two of these are end-flakes and six side-flakes. The flakes exhibit the levallois technique; they possess a plain striking platform which makes an angle of 90 to 110° with the bulbar surface. In 20 specimens the dorsal surface is worked completely (Fig. 3, Nos. 1-2), while in the rest it is partially worked (Fig. 3, No. 3-4). The flakes are rectangular, leaflike, triangular and irregular in form.

In size they measure between 2.3 and 5.1 cm. in length, 1.6 and 4.4 cm. in breadth and 0.6 and 1.5 cm. in thickness. Their mean dimensions are 4 × 3 × 1.1 cm.

The edges of the flakes are sharp although patinated. But there is no evidence of retouch on any of them.

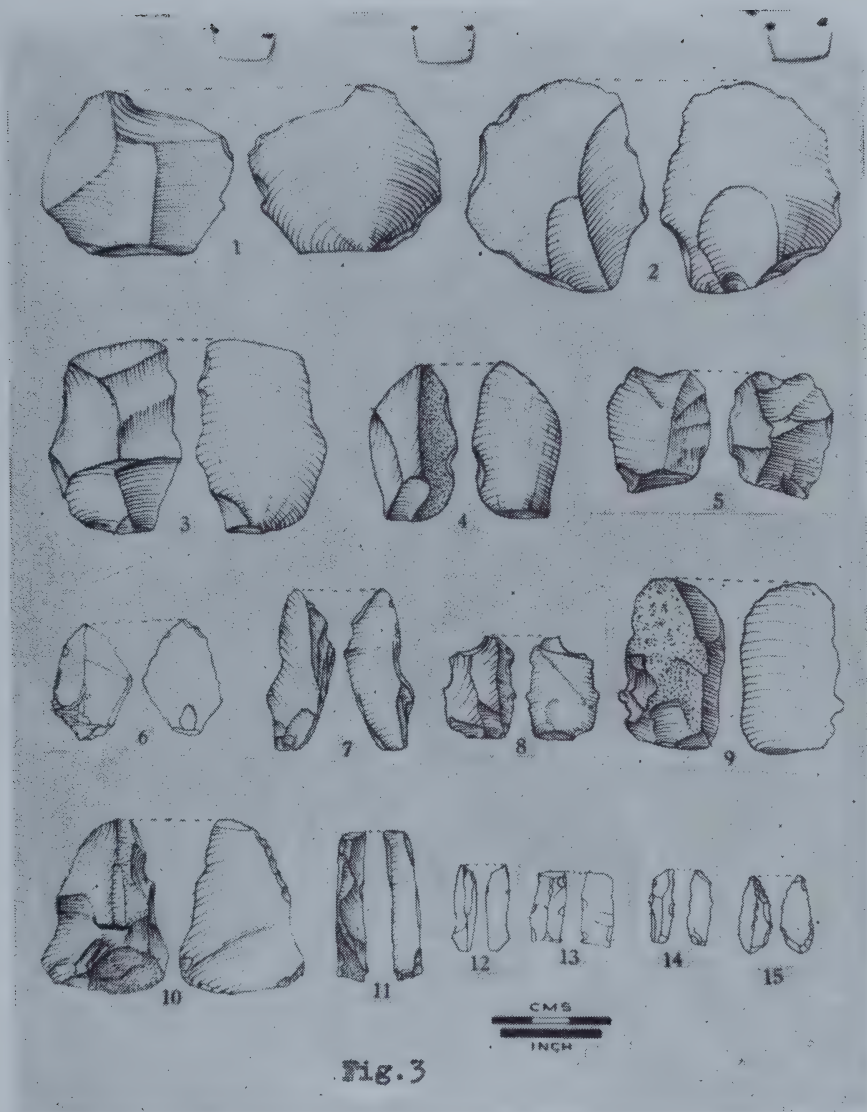
#### IV. 2. The Mesolithic or Blade and Microlithic Industry : ( Fig. 3, Nos. 5-15 )

The specimens of this industry, 29 in number, have come from the upper levels of layer 14 touching the sterile layers. Of these, 16 were unearthed from trench 1, while the remaining 13 derived from trench 2. Majority of the specimens (24) are made on very coarse-grained quartz while a few (5 specimens) are of chert.

The stratigraphical distribution of the artifacts of this industry is shown in the following table :

Md.	Tr.	Layer	ARTIFACT TYPES								Total
			Flake cores	Core rej flakes	Plung. flakes	Chips	Unused flakes	Unused blades	Obli. blunt. blades	Scrapers	
I	1	14	2	1	-	3	6	2	1	1	16
	2	14	-	1	1	6	3	2	-	-	13
Total :			2	2	1	9	9	4	1	1	29

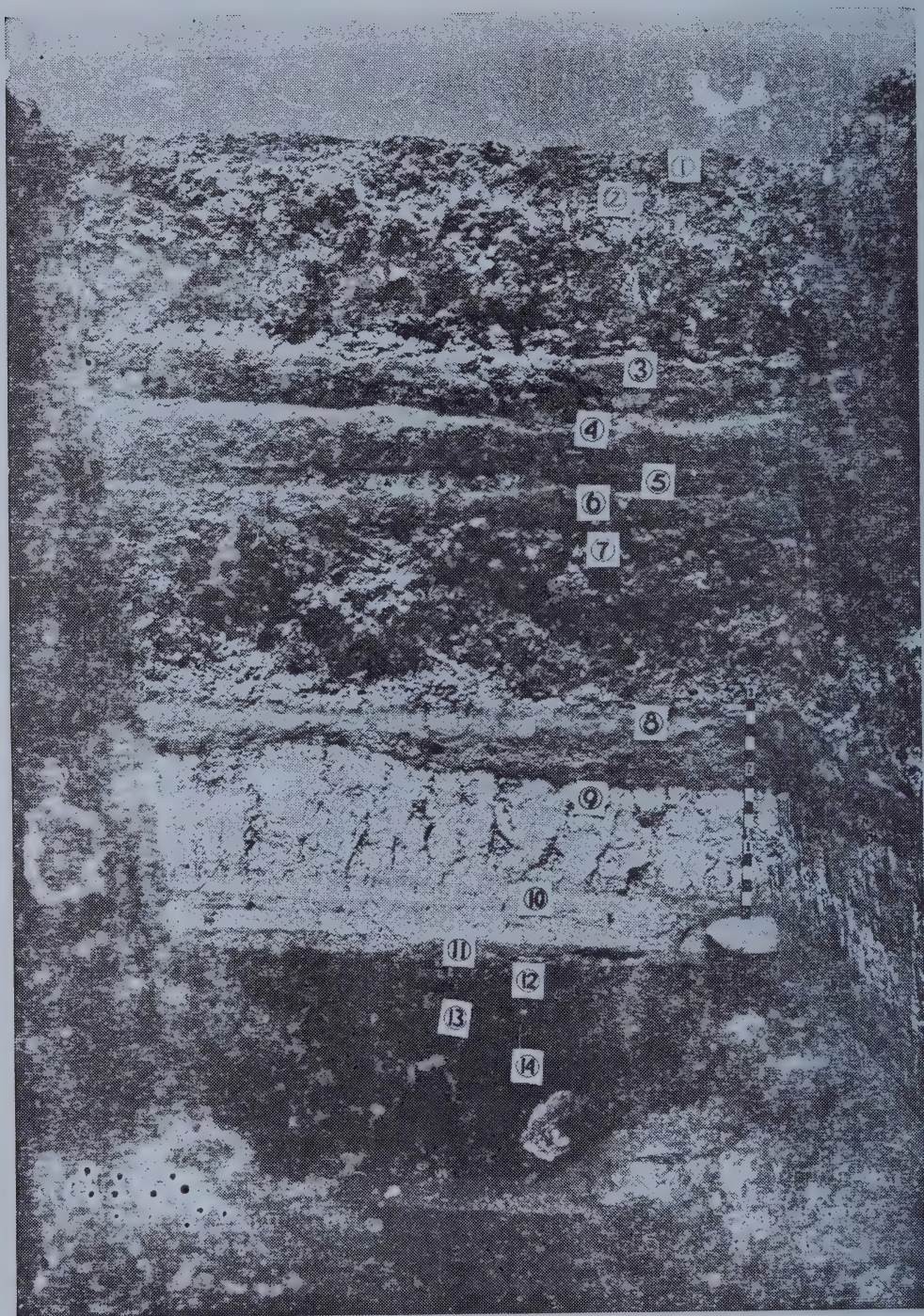
The industry as could be seen in the above table is very poorly represented like the patinated basaltic flake industry. Nearly 50 percent of the total collection (14 specimens) constitute waste products consisting of flake cores, flakes and chips. Unfinished types (13 speci-



### Artifacts of the pre-mesolithic and mesolithic industries

- 1-4 : Patinated basaltic flakes; 5 : Flake core; 6 : Core rejuvenation flake;  
 7-9 : Unused flake; 10 : Side scraper; 11 : Plunging flake;  
 12-14 : Unused blades; 15 : Obliquely blunted blade





Palavoy: Ashmound I, Trench 1, Section Facing East



mens) come next to these and comprise unutilized flakes and blades. The category of finished types is represented by the remaining two specimens only. They include an obliquely blunted blade and a side scraper.

All the types with their characteristics are briefly described below :

**Flake Cores :** (2 specimens) Fig. 3, No 5

This type is represented by ordinary cores from which flakes were freely removed without any regularity. In both specimens the prepared platform is absent. They come from trench 1 alone. The illustrated specimen measures  $3.1 \times 2.4 \times 1.8$  cm.

**Core Rejuvenation Flakes :** (2 specimens) Fig. 3, No. 6

These specimens – one each – have come from trench 1 and trench 2 respectively. They seem to have been removed from the apex of the cores in order to improve the existing platform. The example recovered from trench 1 is leaflike in shape. It is made of chert with a convex upper surface and a hollow under surface having a prominent bulbar scar. The specimen is partly retouched on its left side and measures  $2.9 \times 2 \times 0.7$  cm.

**Plunging Flake :** (1 specimen) Fig. 3, No. 11

This type contains a solitary piece which was found in trench 2. It is made of quartz and measures  $3.6 \times 0.8 \times 0.7$  cm.

**Chips :** (9 specimens) Not illustrated

These are nothing but the byproduct or waste flakes resulted during the preparation of blade cores and various types of artifacts. They are shapeless and do not show any signs of retouch or of utilization. Of these, six specimens came from trench 1 while the rest from trench 2.

**Unused Flakes :** (9 specimens) Fig. 3, Nos. 7-9

All the specimens are end-flakes. Six of these were found in trench 1 and three in trench 2. In size they measure between 1.5 and 4.3 cm. in length, 1.2 and 2.6 cm. in breadth and 0.4 and 0.8 cm. in thickness. Their average dimensions are  $2.6 \times 1.6 \times 0.6$  cm. Atleast in two specimens the length is more than twice the breadth. One of the specimens is almost circular in shape. These flakes bear neither marks of use nor of retouch.

**Unused Blades :** (1 specimen) Fig. 3, Nos. 12-14

Two were found in trench 1 while the remaining two in trench 2.

One of these is a broken specimen. In all of them the dorsal surface possesses only a single midridge. In size they measure between 1.8 and 2.2 cm. in length, 0.6 and 0.9 cm. in breadth and 0.3 and 0.5 cm. in thickness; the average dimensions being  $2 \times 0.7 \times 0.4$  cm. All these blades are devoid of marks of retouch or use.

**Obliquely Blunted Blades :** (1 specimen) Fig. 3, No. 15

The only specimen of this type was recovered from trench 1. It is made of chert and measures  $2 \times 0.9 \times 0.5$  cm. The blunting is executed on the right side of the specimen to facilitate hafting, while the left side is thin and sharp. Further the specimen is steeply retouched at its base.

**Side Scraper :** (1 specimen) Fig. 3, No. 10

This type is characterised by a single specimen which is made on a thick flake with a cortexed convex upper surface. It is retouched dorsoventrally. On its right lateral side there are two deep scars probably made for holding at the time of use. The specimen came from trench 1.

## V. Discussion and Conclusions

The ashmound excavations at Palavoy revealed the survival there of three distinct cultures: the Pre-neolithic, the Neolithic and the Post-neolithic. The Pre-neolithic Culture which is our concern, is characterised by two phases: the pre-mesolithic or patinated basaltic flake, and the mesolithic or blade and microlithic, the former underlying the latter but both occurring in a single 60 to 65 cm. thick layer (14) of the excavations. The flakes of the pre-mesolithic industry depicting the levallois technique of working (Fig. 3. Nos. 1-4) were recovered from the basal zone of layer 14. These are therefore thought to be the products of a culture different from and earlier than those of the mesolithic culture. The people of this cultural phase were the first to occupy the site by levelling the mound. The tools of the mesolithic or the blade and microlithic industry occurred in the upper levels of layer 14 touching the sterile layers (13 and 12). Most of these made on quartz and a few on chert are similar in shape, size and techniques of manufacture to those of the mesolithic culture *proper*. The tool types consist of two flake cores, a plunging flake, nine unutilized flakes and four blades, an obliquely blunted blade and a scraper (Fig. 3, Nos. 5-15). The industry is thus a very crude and non-geometric one, and belongs to the mesolithic people who immediately succeeded the authors of the patinated basaltic flake industry (Rami Reddy 1975b).



The cultural debris of both these industries is separated from that of the succeeding neolithic period by 22 to 35 cm. thick sterile layers (12 and 13). Similar sterile deposit of an average thickness of 75 cm. on the top of layer 7 in trench 1 and of layer 4-A in trench 2 was noticed in the Kupgal ashmound excavations by Mujumdar and Rajaguru (1966 : 14-15, Fig. 4). From the basal zone of these layers the excavators unearthed several patinated basaltic flakes comparable to Palavoy specimens. But no artifacts of microlithic industry have been found although the excavators (*ibid* : 19 and 22) account for the occurrence of chips and nodules of banded haematite quartzite, chert and jasper, besides two flakes bearing human workmanship. However Subbarao's (1949 : 109) excavation on the Sanarasamma Hill at Sangarakallu yielded several deeply patinated flakes of trap and sandstone along with artifacts of a crude non-geometric microlithic industry. Later excavations at the same site (Ansari and Nagaraj Rao 1969) and at Bangaltota (Sankalia 1969) yielded the evidence of both trap flakes and microlithic industries comparable to those of Palavoy.

Thus the morphology of the stratum (14) at Palavoy in which these two lithic industries were found, the order of their occurrence, and the materials and typo-technology of the artifacts closely resemble those of Sanganakallu, Kupgal, and Bangaltota sites. Added to these is the occurrence, at all sites including Palavoy, of a sterile soil deposit between this culture and the neolithic culture.

That the owners of the pre-mesolithic and the mesolithic industries lived under arid to semi-arid climatic conditions is opined from the presently prevailing physio- and orographic features in the region as well as the nature and composition of the fossil soil profile of layer 14 which yielded these industries. Similar view is held by Mujumdar and Rajaguru (1966 : 29-43 and 52-55) from their comparative analyses of the fossil soil from Kupgal with those of today from Bellary and other areas. A climate of this kind was quite suitable for the growth of thorn and scrub type of forest with thick grass cover indicating more rainfall than at present. There is no direct evidence to talk about the food and economy of the people of both the industrial traditions. But from the evidence of a large number of bones of various wild as well as domesticated animal species in association with stone tools at other excavated sites such as Langhnaj in Gujarat (Sankalia 1965), Bagor and Tilwara in Rajasthan (Misra 1971), Adamgarh in Madhya Pradesh (Sankalia 1974 : 258-9), and Sarai Nahar Rai in Uttar Pradesh (Dutta 1971), it may be surmised that the Palavoy mesolithic folk as well as

their immediate predecessors might have eked out their existence by hunting supplemented by food-gathering and other activities.

Let us now consider the antiquity of these industries. From the stratigraphical order of these, it is already known that the possessors of the basaltic flakes were the first to arrive at Palavoy, followed immediately by the mesolithic folk. The knowledge of pottery was unknown to both the groups of people. Besides, their cultural deposit is separated from that of the neolithic folk by a pair of 18 to 35 cm. thick barren layers (12 and 13) showing a distinct chronological gap between the two. Thus both the pre-neolithic industries look much older than the neolithic period. This is further strengthened by a radiocarbon date of 1965 B. C. obtained for the late neolithic level which shows that the early neolithic phase is quite older than 2000 B. C. Looking at the chronological position of the neolithic period and the underlying considerably thick sterile deposit indicating the non-occupation of the site for a long time-period, and also the C-14 dates available from mesolithic sites of Adamgarh in M. P., and Bagor in Rajasthan, the non-pottery non-geometric microlithic phase of Palavoy could be approximately dated to about 5000 B. C. The basaltic flake industry which is the earliest is much older than 5000 B. C. as observed from the deep brownish patination of the flakes and also the nature fossil which according to the analyses of Mujumdar and Rajaguru (1966 : 51) "...most probably formed somewhere in early Holocene or sub-Recent period."

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## SOME NOTEWORTHY ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN THE MALAPRABHĀ BASIN

A. SUNDARA

The Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy had undertaken a proposal of surveying the submergence areas of the Ghaṭaprabhā and the Malaprabhā river valleys. In implementation of the proposal, I on behalf of the Department, surveyed partly the submergence area of the latter valley in February 1977. Herebelow is given a critical account of the sites and monuments examined during the survey. All the villages surveyed are in Bailhongal taluk, Belgaum District.

### I. Ancient Sites :

Already many villages are shifted to the newly allotted areas and their original habitational areas, under the water. Hence any prehistoric and early historic sites in or nearby the original habitational areas, if there be, could not be traced.

1. About a km. east of the village, Budihal in a part of the “Baṇḍevana Hola” locally called “Daṇḍina maraḍi” while laying out side trenches for the construction of road there, three or four red-ware pots containing (human) bones, were said to have been found. In the course of my search for the remains, if there be any, two megalithic or early of historical pot-sherds were got from the black soil mixed with murram and black trap pebbles.

2. Two medieval sites at Turmuri (with the remains of a citadel) and Kenganur and an ancient site with doubtful early historical pottery near the river in the latter, were noticed.

### II. Monuments :

There are some temple remains and sculptures in some of the localities surveyed. Of these remains, some sculptures of the medieval period are indeed noteworthy. It may be noted here that fortunately the villagers have as far as possible transported with them the stone sculptures to their new sites.

### 1. Ganēśa (plate I; 1) :

In the rehabilitated site of Sangolli, there are some sculptures such as two-handed Ganēśa, seated Umā-Mahēśvara, two Saptamātṛika panels, Mailāradēva(?) with his consort on the horse-back, Kārtikēya and Nandi. Excepting Ganēśa all the others are in Chalukya style datable to 11th–12th cent. A. D.

Ganēśa is iconographically interesting. He is two handed and seated in partial padmāsana, the feet being apart from each other. There are quite a few ornaments shown on him. Excepting the leg-bangle on the left the others appear to have worn out. The head is bear. In the right hand is a lotus bud(?) and in the left, modāka pātra to which the proboscis is placed. No tusks, serpent on the belly are shown. The face is triangular shaped and is further drawn rather crudely into proboscis. On the whole the workmanship of the anatomical features, is not impressive.

Two handed Ganēśa seated or standing ranging in date from 2nd or 3rd cent. A. D. to 9th cent. A. D. are found in some localities<sup>1</sup> in North and South Kanara districts; in Soraba taluk (Shimoga Dist.); Brahmagiri<sup>2</sup> (Chitradurga District); Malkhed<sup>3</sup> ( Gulbarga District); Kalasapura, Lakshmeshvara (Dharwad Dist.), Mahakuta, Pattadakallu (Bijapur Dist.), Halshi (Belgaum Dist). Mostly they are in savyalalitāsana, holding padma and modaka pātra in the hands and graceful in proportion. Thus the above Ganēśa stylistically and in posture differs from the others. It is difficult to ascertain its date. However, it appears to be of the Rashtrakuta period.

### 2. Kārtikeya :

In Turmuri, there is a Rāmalinga temple looking east of 11th–12th cent. A. D. against the steep side of a hillock. But only the antarāla and the garbhagṛiha of plain architecture are extant. In the garbhagṛiha is a linga on a moulded pīṭha. Nearby the temple are two sculptures of Ganēśa and of nude Bhairava of usual types. The Bhairava image is broken. In his lower and upper right hands are sword and trīśūla. These two must have been in the dēvakōṣṭhas of the sabhāmaṇḍapa of the temple, which is missing.

i. A little away from this temple is a small niche like shrine called 'Honnentevva'. But actually the image in the shrine is Kārtikēya. He is seated in savyalalitāsana on the back of the peacock. The attributes held in the hands have become indistinct. However, the one in



the right hand appears to be lotus and the other in the left, *mātulunga*. Owing to the lime encrustation on it the characteristics of the upper part are not clear. The sculpture stylistically is of c. 8th-9th cent. A.D.

ii. Among the sculptures at Sangolli, as mentioned above *Kārtikēya* in *savyalalitāsana* is seated on peacock's back whose feathers are vertically lifted. In his two hands are *padma* in the right and *bahubijaphala* in the left. The front part of the peacock is mutilated. Stylistically it is undoubtedly of 11th-12th cent. A. D.

### 3. Nandi : (plate I; 2) :

In Nandihalli is a Nandi temple with an extensive and imposing *prākara* of the recent period located in a quiet hill valley. In the same spot that there was originally a stone *Siva* temple of 11th-12th cent. A.D. of the *Kalyana Chalukya* style, is evident from the remains of the plinth over which the present temple is raised leaving the edge of the original plinth which is therefore visible. Also there are a *Śivalinga* and a broken Nandi of the same period. When the present structure was raised, a colossal Nandi sculpture was installed in the place of the previous one. It is about 2.25 m. high. It is probably of 14th-15th cent. A. D. It is in worship. The village became well known because of this colossus and hence, Nandihalli. There are similar Nandi colossi in the round carved out of a huge sandstone boulder, but incompletely in an open hill valley in *Kalakaleshvara* (Ron Taluk, Dharwad District) noticed by me in 1964, in a temple as the main deity in *Kuragodu* (Bellary Tk, Bellary Dist), in a separate pillared *mandapa* near a *Śiva* temple in *Manvi* (Raichur Dist.), in *Hosa Nagara* (Shimoga Dist.) etc. Such isolated Nandi colossi began to be carved when the popular belief that *Basavēśvara* was an incarnation of Nandi recorded in the sectarian *purāṇas* became deep-rooted among the *Vīraśaivas* at large.

### 4. Sūrya (plate I; 4) :

In Hole-Nagalapur<sup>4</sup> is a *Śiva* temple locally known as *Kalmēśvara*. The original part of the temple extant is of only the *sabhā-mandapa* with four central pillars, two *Śaiva Dvārapālas* flanking the entrance to the present *Garbhagriha* and a *Sūrya* image all of c. 9th-10 cent. A.D.

*Sūrya* standing in *samabhanga* holding lotuses in his two hands and flanked by his two consorts (goddesses) *Rājñi* and *Nikṣubhā* (representing air and earth respectively), is in a chariot drawn by seven horses. On the *makaras* of the *makara tōraṇa* raised over *Surya*, are *Uṣā* and *Pratyūṣā* in miniature. Particularly the type of *Kirīṭamukuṭa*, the ear

ornaments Chakra kuṇḍala and patrakuṇḍala, and of the lotuses in the hands are noteworthy.

It is only in the ceiling of the front mukha-maṇḍapa of the Virūpākṣa temple (8th cent. A. D.) in Pattadakal there is an exquisitely and elaborately well carved Sūrya panel, the god being in a seven horse drawn chariot with Uṣā and Pratyūṣā on the sides in the sky and being welcomed by the semi-divine beings and others. After 8th cent. A.D. normally, Sūrya is shown with Uṣā and Pratyūṣā and for Daṇḍa (i. e. Skanda) and Pingaḷa (i. e. Agni) on the sides and seven horses on the frontal side of the pīṭha in this region. Thus the distinguishing feature of the image under discussion is the presence of his consorts: Rājñi and Nikṣubhā and the unusual feature is the presence of the chariot also so far as the period is concerned.

The small Śaiva dvarapala (plate I, 3) is also interesting. Of the attributes gada, damaru and triṣūla in his hands the last is as tall as the holder again an unusual feature in the period and a feature common in the early temples of the Early Chalukyan Śaiva temples. It is particularly noteworthy that he wears crescent in the jaṭāmukuta.

##### 5. Lakṣmī Narasiṃha :

In Enagi there are many temples which are in the water now. Some sculptures are brought and kept in the new site of the village. They are Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha, Gajalakṣmi, Hanumān, Śivalinga and some Viragals. Excepting the viragals all are of 11th-12th cent. A. D.

In the sculpture of Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha (1.15 x .045 m) partly in round relief, the upper part of the tōraṇa and the attributes in the lower right hand are broken. The face is mutilated. Narasiṃha is seated in the savyalalitāsana. In his hands are in cyclic order from the lower right, śankha, padma, gada and chakra. In this way Viṣṇu therefore is represented as Narasiṃha<sup>6</sup>. On his left lap is seated Lakṣmī in vāmalalitāsana the left leg being placed on what looks like an animal (boar?). To their right is Garuḍa in kneeling posture and with folded hands.

West of Enagi, about 15 kms., the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple in Degaon (near Kittur) is well-known. In the middle of the three garbhagṛihas is Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha sculpture (plate II, 2) similar to the one described above. Lakṣmī is seated in savyalalitāsana. It may be noted also that in the garbhagṛiha to the right is Viṣṇu in samabhanga in the form of Kēśava holding padma, śankha, chakra and gadā in





1. SANGOḶI : Gaṇeśa



2. NANDIHAḶI : Nandi



3. HOLE-NĀGALĀPURA :  
Śaiva Dvārapāla ( Vīrabhadra )



4. HOLE-NĀGALĀPUR : Sūrya

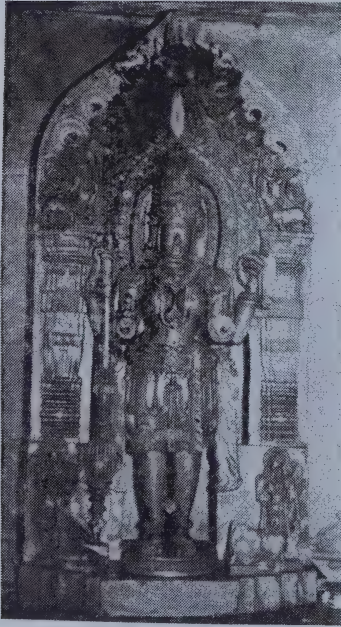




1. IṬṬGI : Kēṣava



2. DĒGAON : Lakṣmi Narasiṃha



3. DĒGAON : Mahālakṣmi



4. SANGOḶḶI : Hanumān

cyclic order in the hands. And in the garbhagriha to the left is Lakṣmi in the form of Mahālakṣmi (plate II;3) holding in the upper right and left hands gadā (called Kaumōdaki) and Khēṭaka respectively, the lower hands (probably holding pātra and bilva fruit) being broken thus similar to the Mahālakṣmi of Kolhapur and to the one in the western garbhagriha of the Bhū-Varāha Narasimha temple in Halshi (Khanapur Tk, Belgaum Dist.).

#### 6. Kēśava (plate II; 1) :

In Itagi<sup>6</sup> the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple of 10th-11th cent. A. D. is noteworthy. Only the garbhagriha is extant. The colossal Viṣṇu sculpture (2.10 m. x 1.20 m.) on a moulded pīṭha in the garbhagriha is in samabhanga with padma, Śankha chakra and gadā in the hands. The figure is therefore Kēśava. He is flanked by Bhūdevī, Śridevī. He is well ornamented. The makara tōraṇa is wavy, wider at the top and with pointed tip. The number of the incarnations of Viṣṇu shown on the tōraṇa are, it is noteworthy, twelve including Vyāsa(?) and Kapila besides the usual incarnations. Buddha, one of the avatāras has his right hand in Bhūmisparśamudra.

In *Padmapurāṇa*<sup>7</sup> there is mention of twelve incarnations of Viṣṇu. Also *Vaikhānasāgama* and *Viṣṇudharmōttara* some other minor incarnations of Viṣṇu are mentioned such as Puruṣa, Yajñeśa, Vyāsa, Dhanvantari etc. But in sculptures of Viṣṇu it is only the most popular ten avatāras that are carved on the tōraṇa. It is in this way the representations in the above sculpture are unusual.

#### 7. Hanumān (plate II; 4) :

Mention is made of, above, a large sized Hanumān sculpture in Enagi. The sculpture in bas-relief, about 1.75 m. high x 1.10 m. broad (excluding the pedestal) shows him in side profile, moving in strides, lifting his right hand as if to strike at and holding a bunch of fruits in the left. Probably it represents his looting of the Aśōkavana in Lankā. This is in fact the most common type found widely all over Karnataka. But its importance lies in the size and antiquity. Hanumān reliefs of course, occur in the narrative panels representing the important episodes connected with his feats from the Sundara and Yuddha kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the temple walls, pillars from about 8th c. A. D. onwards as e. g. Pāpanathā temple in Pattadakal. Then, when was begun the representation of Hanumān as a principal icon for worship in a temple? The above sculpture, obviously meant for worship, is in Kalyāna



Chalukya style and on the frontal side of the pedestal is a Kannada inscription of 11th cent. A. D. unfortunately much worn out. Probably no icon of this deity of this period or earlier in Karnataka is reported, as far as I know. From the Hoysala period onwards and particularly during the Vijayanagara period, Hanumān temples appeared numerously. The above inscribed sculpture is the earliest datable icon of the deity and thus is important.

I had earlier noticed<sup>8</sup> in 1958 two such sculptures of the same period but a little of lesser size near Śambhulinga temple in Kakkalameli and Kunekumatagi, Sindgi taluk of Bijapur district.

#### 8. A Jaina Tirthankara (plate III; 1) :

In Kurukunda was a Jaina temple of 11th-12th cent. A. D. located on the top of a hillock. It was later on converted into Virabhadra temple. The Tirthankara image (1.16 x 0.75 m.) is kept behind this temple. It is in bas-relief. The Tirthankara is Vardhamāna Māhavīra in khadgāsana, flanked by Yaksha and Yakshi and with chowries on the sides of the head and single Chhatra above the head, worthy of note. There is makaratōraṇa with simhalalāṭa surrounding him. The sculpture is of fine workmanship.

#### Viragals :

Of the viragals and Mahasati stones noticed at Turumari (1 no.), Enagi (3 nos), Sangolli (1 no.), Savantgi (3 nos.), those in the last are really noteworthy. There is also Kalmeshvara temple in this locality of c. 10th- cent. A. D. much renovated.

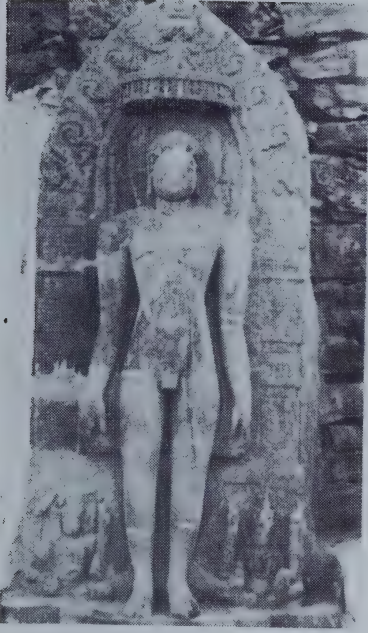
Near this temple is a viragal (plate III, 2) consisting as usual of three panels. In the first or the lowest is the hero with bow and arrow marching to the battle field and his two wives stand by his sides as if to bid farewell to him. They must have observed Sati after his death. In the second panel he is seated with his two wives standing by his sides, and with attendants. Both these panels are unusual. In the third is shown the hero as worshipping a Śivalinga.

The other two are Sati stones. In one the sati stands with her right hand lifted up and unusually holds a mirror, an auspicious symbol, in the left (plate III, 3). To her right stands her lord now a martyr with bow and arrow. Above, the couple are worshipping a Śivalinga.

In the third (plate III, 4) the lower panel has a horse rider with cow and calf on both the sides. The middle contains the reliefs of



Plate III



1



2



3



4

1. KURUKUNDA : Mahāvīra  
2 3 & 4 : SAVANTGI : Vīragal and Mahāsati stones



two ladies with a pair of cow and calf on both the sides very unusual. The topmost is of the usual type.

In the last two the dresses of the ladies are noteworthy.

#### Some Observations :

1. In the Malaprabhā basin, there are a few sculptures of unusual types in some respects worthy of note from the point of view of iconography as e. g. the two handed Ganēśa from Sangolli, Kēśava from Itagi, Hanumān from Enagi, Sūrya from Hole-Nagalapura, Vardhamāna from Kurukunda and the Viragal and Manasatikals from Savantgi.

2. The Viṣṇu temples in this part are comparatively numerous.

It may be noted that Halshi (Ancient Palāṣika) was the capital of one of the branches of the Kadambas who were personally the followers of Viṣṇu. They were ruling as feudatories the Halshi region during 10th-12th cent. A. D. and at the same period, the Raṭṭhas the followers of Jainism were ruling first from Saundatti and then from Belgaum. In Halshi proper the most prominent of the 12 temples<sup>9</sup> is the Bhūvarāha Narasimha a dvikūṭāchala temple with two garbhagrihas facing each other on the east-west axis with a common sabhāmaṇḍapa in between approached by indistinct mukhamanḍapas on the sides. Only the garbhagriha facing east has śikhara of Kadama Nāgara style and contains Yogi-Nārāyaṇa sculpture of superb workmanship. To the garbhagriha with antarāla on the west containing a sculpture of Bhūvarāha of equal excellence, was added the existing Yogiarāyaṇa temple, the time gap in between the two constructions being small. It is noteworthy that in the eastern garbhagriha is a small but fine sculpture of two handed Narasimha<sup>10</sup> in savyalalitāsana of c. 5 th A. D. Further, near the south-eastern boundary of this temple there is another temple, only the garbhagriha of which is extant. In it is a beautiful Lakṣmi-Narasimha sculpture. Similarly in Khanapura, a taluka headquarters in Belgaum district, Belgaum and Saundatti are impressive Jaina sculptures and monuments. It is against this history of the dynastic rulers and their religious affiliations in Halshi-Saundatti region, the construction of Vaishnava and Jaina monuments in considerable number is understandable. Incidentally, it may be noted that the major eastern part of the present north Karnataka was under the Kalyana Chalukyas and the Kalachuris who were largely the followers of Śaivism. Thus in this region the Saiva temples are overwhelmingly numerous and the Vaiṣṇava temples are comparatively a few. Thus the sculptures of the Malaprabhā basin shed considerable light on these important aspects of cultural history of this region.



## References and Notes

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- 5 According to Padma Purāṇa and Rūpa maṇḍana Viṣṇu when he represents the forms of Narasiṃha and Sri Kṛṣṇa, should have respectively from the lower right hand in cyclic order chakra, padma gadā, śankha; śankha gadā, padma, chakra. But the sculptures, under discussion, represents either Narasiṃha or Kṛṣṇa as the attributes in the hands in either case are interchanged. However in view of the fact that from about 11th C. A. D. onwards Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha is referred to frequently in inscriptions also besides the construction of Lakṣmī Narasiṃha temples and the representations and inscriptional references to Rukmiṇī Kṛṣṇa are few if not absent upto 14th or 15th C. A. D. the sculptures described above therefore probably represent Lakṣmī-Narasiṃha.
- 6 There is another temple of 11th-12th cent. A. D. but in ruins. And in the middle of the river, is a temple with Kadamba Nagara śikhara which was visible from the water level at the time of my visit.
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- 8 These were noticed during my village-to-village survey of Antiquarian Remains as Technical Asst. of the Archaeological Survey of India, Govt. of India. I am thankful to the Survey for permission.
- 9 I had surveyed this village in 1975 April. Among the other temples one is of Jaina, the rest are Śaiva all being of 12th-13th cent. A. D.
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## RAITA MOVEMENT OF CENTRAL KARNATAKA

A Study on Peasantry\*

K. G. GURUMURTHY

This paper is about a movement started by the peasants, the *Raitaru* group of *Sādaru* Lingayats, of central Karnataka. The area under observation comprises the districts of Chitradurga, Shimoga, Chikmagalur, Bellary and Dharwad in the State of Karnataka. The approach used here is microscopic and descriptive and the data is analysed along the cyclic theory of social change. Fifty years ago the *Raitaru*, henceforth called peasants, were poor, landless illiterate cultivators and had all the peasant characteristics mentioned by Redfield (1969) and Beteille (1974). Above them were the *Gaudaru*, who served as the elite group. The peasants who were under the influence, obligation and control of the elite group, gradually fought their way out, and today they have even surpassed the elites in socio-economic and political fields. This they could do over the five to six decades of constant struggle in the form of a movement. In this struggle they took help from the Shivana Math – a religious institution, and the favourable political situations in the State. The Math supported the peasants since it had started a similar struggle – to get itself established and recognized in the area, among its customary followers who were under the control of the traditional minded Jangama Maths. The aims and objectives of both the groups were more or less the same and so they worked together. This became a movement of the peasants and this is the subject matter of this paper. But, as Beteille (1974: 77) says of any peasant movement, the revolutionary potentialities of the *Raitaru* was noticed only recently – after they attained their goals.

It is found that not all the families among the traditionally land owning castes such as the Lingayats, Okkaligas, Marathas and Reddies, cultivate it by themselves but left it to the actual cultivators. So a clear division is found in all these castes on the basis of this activity – owners of the land and cultivators of the land. In this paper I only deal with

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the Sādaru Lingayats, who own and cultivate land among the Lingayat castes. I intend to show here how the feeling of difference among the two groups exists and operates at this microscopic level. Further, I intend to show how the study can throw some light on similar movements which may exist among the other castes which I have mentioned.

The Sādaru Lingayats are one of the sub-castes among the Lingayats and have farming as their traditional occupation. Owing to their occupation, in the past, they lived predominantly in villages. On the basis of ownership and cultivation of land they are divided into two groups : *Gaudaru*<sup>1</sup> – those who belong to the clan of the village headman and *Raitaru* – who belong to the clans other than to that of the village headman. The latter owned no land and in most of the cases they were landless tenants and were brought to the village by the land owning elites to work as their farm hands. This alien status did not allow them to own any land. In a way land was not available for them to own since all of it was with the elites; and was only inherited. Owing to their poor status the Raitaru lived in equally poor houses and localities and away from the elites.<sup>2</sup> The public facilities such as the temples, wells, etc., were also not easily and freely accessible to them.

In terms of ritual roles played in the village, the peasants had none in the beginning. Later they were included when perochial level festivals were celebrated for curative, preventive or for fertility purposes (c. f. Gurumurthy, 1976). Here, though the peasants contributed and arranged for these rituals, the elites were invited to supervise them. When the elites were invited to do so it was done in most ceremonial manner – the village elders going in a procession, accompanied with band music and specially requesting them with significant offerings such as a pair of coconuts, betel leaves and nuts. When a festival or special worship was arranged to the village deity (Grāmadēvaru), the elites had the privileges to offer the first worship. During certain post festival activities such as playing colour (ōkali) after the festival of the village deity, the peasants were made to play a few lower and degrading roles which, in the past, were played by the temple girls (*Dēvadāsi* or *Basavi*) (c. f. Gurumurthy, 1976a, 1976b and Patil, 1975).

On the social side too the peasants had a very low status. Normally they were not allowed to marry persons from the elite group. On the contrary only those elites who were widowers, poor, disable, old etc., took girls from peasant group. When elites were invited by the peasants for marriage and such other familial celebrations, they were given special attention and treat. On the contrary when the elites celebrated



these the peasants were asked to come and help in cleaning, cooking and serving the food. When native games were played or folk dramas were staged, only the female and socially degrading roles were given to the peasants. They accepted all these as they were in the obligation of the elite group and needed their goodwill to acquire land and support.

This situation continued till the peasants acquired the means and source of status and authority – the land. In the past land was not available to them either in sale or to inherit. To secure land they did everything – worked for the elites as wage free servants (*Āḷumaga*),<sup>8</sup> *Mane aḷiya*,<sup>4</sup> or went for *Mane āḷutana*.<sup>5</sup> Once certain amount of land was acquired they worked very hard on it. They minimised their expenditure to such an extent that they were teased and looked down upon by the elites. Their dirty and scanty dress and low food habits and living, which, as Redfield (1969) says, were different from the elites. At the cost of all this they saved money to acquire more land, whenever it was available for sale. On the other hand the elites, who were easy going and indulging type by nature and never worked personally on the farm, had clean dress and habits and had all the reasons to laugh at the peasants. But when the elites begin to sell their land to maintain their standard of living, the peasants bought it piece by piece. When the peasants attained a particular economic level they even began to compete with the elites in buying the land. In spite of this the most valued land in the village – the ancestral fields (*Mane-dolagaḷu*), were still with the elites. But when the peasants began to offer higher prices for them this tempted most of the elites to part with this type of land also. Today in terms of agricultural activity and ownership of land, the peasants not only own the best land available in the village but also cultivate it well and take out good yield. As a result of this they have made a lot of money and have constructed spacious and modern type of houses, bought costly ornaments and utensils. With all these they also are leading a comfortable and decent living when compared to many of the elites.

On the social and political side also the peasants fought boldly. When the poor peasants begin to educate their sons the hard working and struggling type of peasants emerged successfully as teachers, engineers, doctors and lawyers. The elites who were not willing to give brides to peasants in the beginning, have now begun to offer to those who are educated and occupy good positions in the society. This offer removed the craze among the peasants to marry brides from the elite group. Now considering themselves superior to elites they either refused brides from elite group or demanded lot of dowry. On the

other hand as and when their status improved they started abstaining from serving the elites in all fields. The rich among the peasants encouraged the poor ones with help and assistance, to prevent them from going again to the elites for favours.

At the time of village level festivals and rituals also the peasant began to abstain from playing their customary roles. As a result a number of celebrations were stopped. A few community level festivals and rites which were abandoned decades back, were now revived independently by the peasants. Where ever it was not possible they were celebrated in duplicate, peasants and elites organizing them separately. As a result the status of the elites and their privileges went down. By this the peasants got moral boost to face the elites in other fields. They also discontinued inviting the elites to their familial celebrations or giving them special treat when invited. Considering this gesture an act of insult, the elites themselves abstained from attending such activities. In the absence of the traditional or customary honorees, the leaders among the peasants got these. With the loss of face and and also hold on the community situations the elite begin to abstain from participating in the public activities; or isolated themselves. A few left the villages under the pretext to give higher education to their children or to start a business in the nearby town. By this a few leadership and official positions were vacated and these were taken over by the peasants.

In terms of political activity, the peasants were helpless without having any means of political authority and power. The villages and the state were administrated by the official and traditional type of leadership and these positions were inherited by the elites. Most of the area now under study, formed a part of the former princely state of Mysore and administration was conducted with the help of Diwan and the Representative Assembly of the people, on one side and the British Resident in the state, on the other. Though a few seats in the Representative Assembly were open to elected members the voters and the candidates were to have certain special qualifications such as ownership of landed property or education. Peasants who lacked both the means were helpless till India became Independent. With the adoption of adult franchise and democratic type of government and administration, the peasants began to come forward to participate in the local and state level politics and administration.

The universal adult franchise system introduced in the country not only brought opportunities to the peasants to vote but also to contest

the elections. Added to this was their clanish mentality and hero worshipping nature which brought unity and faithful following. On the contrary, the elites who were much aware politically, were divided. Taking the advantage of it the peasants played a key role in local and district level politics. Gradually they collected support and organized their own political group and begin to oppose the elites openly. Now, the representatives to various administrative and legislative bodies such as the Taluka Development Board, Legislative Assembly and Parliament, being directly elected, the peasants joined hands with other peasant groups in the State such as the Okkaligas, Reddis and got themselves established politically.

When the struggle for Indian Independence was going on, the elites, who were with the princely rule and had not joined the Congress Party, underwent a political shock after the Independence of India and begin to feel morally guilty. The peasants who had directly involved in the Independence movement had a few leaders who had even been to jail during the struggle. When India became Independent and the Congress Party came to power, the peasants had an advantage over the elites. The latter being landlords and powerful traditional leaders in the village, were further shocked at the type of advantages and privileges the democracy brought to the common man. When they were still recovering from these shocks the peasants who had gained the momentum of the situation, went ahead with the changing situations. Now, the educated peasants who were teachers, lawyers, etc., could easily jump into democratic type of politics; but not the elites, who were still puzzled. Added to this were a series of reforms brought by the new peoples government such as land and tenancy reforms, abolition of hereditary offices, land gifts and land grants, bonded labour etc., and political changes such as elections to the official positions. These were all favourable to peasants and disadvantageous to the elites.

Ritually speaking, this was the time the Jangama Maths and the Non-Jangama Maths were at conflict over the issue - whether a Non-Jangama by birth, can become a priest and head a Math or not. The priests who were non-Jangama by birth had used the advocacy of Sri Basava, a social reformer of the 12th century and argued that a priest is made and not born. When the Maths involved their following in this struggle, the orthodox elites joined the Jangama Maths and the peasants joined the Non-Jangama Maths. As a result the peasants stopped inviting the Jangama priests and also the elites, to all their domestic rites and rituals. This also affected the elites adversely and they lost their privileges to the peasants. This rivalry made the latter not to



intermarry with the former group and this also reduced the competition in the field of marriage and now the peasants could get good bride-grooms easily.

Today, in all the big towns and cities of central Karnataka, there are public service organizations such as co-operative societies; which are mainly organized by these two groups. In the city of Davangere there are well known co-operative societies – Raitara Sangha and Vyavasāyagārara Sangha and their chain of establishments, with similar aims and objectives. The lists of share holders and customers to these societies show that the two groups are behind these.

In terms of business – the elites who got inspired by the Banajigas, the traditional business caste, and the Jangama groups, begin to take-up business in the nearby towns and cities. As a result a number of commission agencies and retail sales establishments were opened by the persons coming from rural area. Immediately they were followed by peasants in this field also. A number of peasants who were working as porters, clerks etc., for other businessmen and were ambitious, begin to establish their own business firms. The elites who were careless and depended on others to run the business, gradually sold away their establishments to their assistants; among them many were peasants. Today the business establishments owned by the peasants are not only flourishing but also increasing in number, because they go out of their way to help each other. For example, when the farmers belonging to peasant group, market their agricultural products through an agent who is also a peasant, they will not insist for the clearance of the bill if the latter has no ready cash with him and withdraws it later or whenever he needs it. With this unaccounted and interest free extra money, the agents have earned more profits now. Like this the peasants help each other and have built their own business circles. Whereas the careless and easy going elites have sold away their business to the peasants and have returned to the village.

Thus the movement started almost five to six decades ago, is now serving the cause of the peasants. The movement is alive in areas which are still under the control of the elites. In other places the peasants have now established themselves well educationally, socially, politically ritually and economically. The battle they fought was a difficult and time consuming one since the elite group opposed it very much. The elites opposed the changes among the Raitaru because it affected their traditional statuses and positions and at the same time the loss of services of the obedient and hard working peasants. But the hard

working and ambitious peasants kept the tempo of the struggle by converting all the changes which occurred in the society in their favour. More than their efforts, the democratic rule and the welfare measures taken by the government for the betterment of the weaker sections in the society, came as a great blessing to the peasants.

### NOTES

- 1 According to the Orienstein (1965) Gauda (Gau-village, da-head) is originally a Marathi term meaning head of the village or settlement. In all the villages the members who belong to the lineage of the village headman form the original settlers and so own most of the fertile land which also is nearer to the settlement. Later one among them, an educated or dominant one, was appointed as the Patel of the village by the Moghals/British.
- 2 The village settlements in this part of Karnataka, are divided into several ritual circles, going in concentric circles. The temple of the village deity forms the center and so located in the inner most circle. The members belong to the lineage of village headman occupy the second circle and the Raitaru, the third (c. f. Gurumurthy, 1971).
- 3 Under the *Ālumaga* system a landless person worked for a landlord free of wages for ten to fifteen years and in return got a few acres of land, bullocks, a house and the agricultural implements, so that he can conveniently start cultivating the land so obtained from his masters. He worked as a servant not for wages but for land. However, this was not claimed as a share in the family property, but given as a gift for his devoted and long services towards the family.
- 4 Under this system a landlord, who has only the daughters, selects a suitable boy and puts him in-charge of the agriculture work of the family. Later one of his daughters was given in marriage to him and also the landed property of the family. Since this person moves into his father-in-law's family much earlier to his marriage and later stays with the family, he becomes the 'son-in-law of the family'—unlike others who marry and take away their wives to their respective families.
- 5 This custom is similar to *Ālumaga*. But here the person who works for the landlord invariably belongs to the caste or sub-caste of the landlord and also marries one of his daughters. But the former will not have any such rights. In this case a family may select a person to work for the family for some years because the head of the family is aged or suffering from some disease or disabled and also his sons are much young and cannot take-up the responsibility of looking after the farm duties. So a person from a friendly family is selected and later he was given a share in the family property and also a daughter in marriage. When the sons come of age the son-in-law moves out of the family and established his own. The only difference between a *Mane Aliya* and the one who goes for *Mane Ālutana*, is that the former permanently stays with the family and the latter moves out when time comes.

In the past since the land was not available in open market, the land hungry *Raitaru* sent one of their sons for this type of service to acquire land. The *Gaudaru* always had some amount of land with them and so none of them accepted this type of services.

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## JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM

V. S. PATIL

"I have believed in socialism for the past fifty years and, until somebody convinces me to the contrary, I shall continue to believe in and work for socialism. I am not at all embarrassed about being a socialist or our objectives being socialist. That should be the ideal of every nation or society or individual,"<sup>1</sup> said Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to an interviewer. This gives a clear picture of Nehru as a socialist. He had faith in socialism and he called himself a socialist. He strove for it. He maintained that socialism should be the ideal of every individual society and nation.

The term "socialism" was probably adopted for the first time in 1803 in Italy.<sup>2</sup> Since then it has been used by many in numerous fashions all over the world. Now-a-days, it is a fashion to call oneself a socialist.

It is surprising that it was first developed by industrialists like Robert Owen, Henri de Saint Simon, Charles Fourier. Their Socialism may be termed as "Industrialist Socialism." Robert Owen (1771-1858), the British reformer and socialist, was the owner of a factory at Manchester. He is considered the father of socialism. He had faith in the labour theory of value. He was responsible for the founding of trade unions and consumers' Co-operatives. Henry de Saint Simon (1760-1825), another industrialist, wanted to improve the masses with the help of science and technology. Charles Fourier (1772-1837), on the other hand, favoured agrarian reforms instead of large scale industrialization. Thus, in the beginning, Socialism started in the West as the Master's Movement and not of the Workers'.

Even the Anarchists and the Chartists called themselves socialists. William Godwin (1756-1836), Michael Bakunin (1814-1876), Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) and Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1919), the known Anarchists, wanted to destroy, as Bakunin said "all states, all churches, with all their institutions and laws." Strictly speaking an anarchism of this sort is anti-social and antithetic to socialism.

The Chartists like Lovett and Hetherington were the reformists who wanted to have (i) the Universal suffrage, (ii) the secret ballot system, (iii) the abolition of property qualifications for members of the House of Commons, (iv) the abolition of payment of salaries to the members of the House of Commons, (v) the election of annual parliaments and (vi) the equal electoral areas. The revolutionary chartists like O'Brien and O'Connor, on the other hand, did not believe in passive reformations. O'Brien was for the workers' movement towards the nationalization of public utilities, whereas O'Connor was for the peasants' movement towards the agrarian socialism.

Collectivism and Fabianism popularised socialism. The Communism of Karl Marx and Engels swept the world as a gust of wind. Even Syndicalism and Guild Socialism further spread Socialism. In addition, there are other types like "State Socialism", "national socialism", "democratic socialism". Its types and connotations go on changing from individual to individual, from society to society, from nation to nation and even from time to time. Prof. R. H. Tawney rightly says "socialism is a word, the connotation of which varies, not only from generation to generation but from decade to decade".

In short, Western Socialism is so confusing that it is a difficult task to trace the real traits of socialism. Sir Alexander Gray says "one man's socialism is another man's heresy." Max Nordau says, for example, "though Syndicalism may be said to arise out of Socialism, Syndicalism is the very antithesis of Socialism."

All types of Socialism and their methods, have been confusing and uncertain like mirages. While explaining the history of the Fabian Socialism, Anne Tremantle writes in her *"This little Band of Prophets"* : "The Utopias of the 1820-28 phase of Socialism, as dreamed of by Robert Owen, Fourier and Saint Simon, were still the carrots held out to the donkeys who died on the barricades in Europe in 1848, although each new prophet had a different instrument for reaching these Utopias. Proudhon offered the minimum wage, Georges Sorel the general strike, Marx, according to Shaw, declared that force is the mid-wife of progress without reminding us that force is equally the midwife of chaos; Bentham proposed universal male suffrage and annual parliaments. John Stuart Mill .. uniting the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw materials of the globe and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour, equally distributed."

The idea of socialism is not new to India, though a particular scientific theory is not developed, except some forms like the Bhoodan Movement of Vinoba Bhave, and the Sarvodaya, founded by Gandhiji, and developed by Vinoba Bhave and Jaya Prakash Narayan. The Sarvodaya Movement, particularly, is considered as an Indian alternative to Western Socialism. Jaya Prakash Narayan called it "Peoples Socialism."<sup>8</sup> Sarvodaya is the Sanskrit phrase consisting of 'Sarva' (all) and 'udaya' (development or emancipation). It refers to the welfare of all, which is the goal of real socialism. The term was first used by Gandhiji. "Sarvodaya would, briefly, attempt to achieve the basic goals of socialism without the state coming in as the regulator of the economic and political life of the community."<sup>4</sup>

The fragrance of socialism can be smelt through the Indian literature and culture, like "*Vasudaiva Kutumbakam*" (The whole world is a single family), "*Sarve Janaha Sukhino Bhavantu*" (All people should be happy) as found in Vedas, "be good and do good", the saying of Sri Buddha, non-violent movement of Sri Mahavir, "*Annadolagondagula, Seereyola-gondeleya indinge Nalinge endenadode nimmane nimma pramathara ane*" (a grain in the rice, a string in the saree, I swear on you and on your old ones, if I say for today and tomorrow) as promised and pledged by Basaveswara, a 12th century reformer.

The Hindu philosophy and the Hindu way of life start with 'Dharma' (just duty) and develop towards 'Artha' (money), 'Kama' (Pleasure) and 'Moksha' (Salvation). Mahatma Gandhi followed the same path. His follower and the ideological heir apparent, Nehru, naturally, was drawn towards the same socialist path.

Nehru, though not a political philosopher, was a prominent politician of his time. His education at Harrow and Cambridge, his participation in the freedom movement, his association with the father of the nation and his experience as the first Prime Minister of India made him a perfect politician. The period of his Prime Ministership from independence upto his death on 27th May 1964, may be termed as the Nehru Era. Sometimes, he was characterised as a popular dictator.

It was a sort of miracle that a son of an aristocrat stepped down from the aristocratic pride to pragmatic socialism. His short visit to Russia in 1927 brought him first under the influence of practical communism. His thoughts on "Soviet Russia" came out in 1928. He was inspired by marxism and communism. "A Study of Marx and Lenin," he said, "produced a powerful effect on my mind and helped me to see history and current affairs in a new light."<sup>6</sup> He returned from



Europe in 1927 and since then began to popularise socialism. He was so much attracted to socialism that he was even prepared to oppose Mahatma Gandhi and other popular leaders of the time. Subhas Chandra Bose writes "since 1920, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been a close adherent of the policy advocated by the Mahatma and his personal relations with the latter had been always friendly. Nevertheless, since his return from Europe in December 1927, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru began to call himself a socialist and give expression to views hostile towards Mahatma Gandhi and the older leaders and to ally himself in his public activities with the Left Wing opposition within the Congress."<sup>6</sup>

The 20th century socialism in India is vague and varied in its connotations as in the west. "A vague confused socialism was already part of the atmosphere of India when I returned from Europe in December 1927", said Mr. Nehru, "...Mostly they thought along utopian lines."<sup>7</sup>

On the one hand, Sri Lala Lajpat Rai maintained "We do not understand socialism. We have never studied it. We do not go by dogmas and doctrines",<sup>8</sup> and on the other, Subhas Chandra Bose, the proudest son of India, saw the way of life in socialism in terms of justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love.<sup>9</sup> "Clearly for this beloved political leader of India", writes Sri Appadorai, "Socialism included all the values which he cherished and liked to see established in India."<sup>10</sup>

"Bose was a voracious reader on socialism and communism".<sup>11</sup> He wanted to have a new and original type of socialism for India to suit her conditions. "India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations", said Bose, "but she should be able to evolve her own methods in keeping with her own needs and her own environment. In applying any theory to practice, you can never rule out geography of history. If you attempt it you are bound to fail. India should therefore evolve her own form of socialism. When the whole world is engaged in socialistic experiments, why should we not do the same? It may be that the form of socialism which India will evolve will have something new and original about it which will be of benefit to the whole world."<sup>12</sup> He welcomed the Fundamental Rights resolution passed by the Karachi Congress as "a definite move in the direction of socialism."

Gandhiji saw socialism mainly from the angle of equality. "Socialism is a beautiful word ...as far as I am aware, in socialism all the

members of society are equal none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are members of society. This is socialism.”<sup>13</sup>

Jaya Prakash Narayan's concept of socialism subordinates the individual interest to the social interest. He defines a socialist society as “one in which the individual is prepared voluntarily to subordinate his own interest to the large interest of society.”<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia is another Indian socialistic thinker. “The credit for original thinking in the doctrinal foundation of socialism as applied to underdeveloped economies must go to Ram Manohar Lohia more than to any other.”<sup>15</sup> In his Essay on “Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism”, (1952), he has maintained that socialism as a doctrine is not independent of communism and capitalism. He writes: “This grafting of one on the other is full of peril to the future of socialism, for it encourages the disastrous belief that economic democracy prevails under communism and political democracy under capitalism and all that needs to be done is to join them”. His concept of socialism, in short, stands for “the small unit machine run by electricity or oil, immediacy in operation and output, economic decentralization, ownership of land by small tillers and mass violence at the crucial stage of the transition to socialism”<sup>16</sup>

“Socialism must ever denounce the advocacy and organization of violence”, writes Dr. Lohia, “though as a last resort, the people may well choose to exercise their majesty of power so as to end the agony of the old and give birth to the new. This will be spontaneous violence of the people displayed only for a brief moment.” But it is criticised by Jaya Prakash Narayan and others as a wrong means.

Out of these vague and varied connotations, Mr. Nehru formed his own definite, pragmatic, progressive and ethical socialism, which should yield quick results. Like Gandhiji he also maintained equality as the essence of socialism. “The important thing”, he said, “is that every individual should be given equal opportunity in a more or less egalitarian society with no great inequalities or disparities, at any rate none so far as opportunity is concerned”.<sup>17</sup>

In his Presidential Address in Lucknow in 1936, Nehru did not use the word socialism in a vague humanitarian way, nor on utopian lines but in the scientific sense.

Sri Brij Narain is of the opinion that Indian socialism of 1937 was indebted to western socialism in "both its intellectual content and its tactics".<sup>18</sup> Dr. Appadorai supports the same view.<sup>19</sup> The impact of communism of Karl Marx and Engels and of Fabianism of Sydney Webb, Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw, Annie Besant and others can be seen clearly on the Indian socialism of the 20th century.

The greatness of Mr. Nehru lies in the selection from western socialist thought to suit the Indian environment. After getting into power as the Prime Minister, he could not speak so much about socialism as he did earlier in 1927. He even opposed a resolution in the Constituent Assembly in 1949, which stated "this Assembly is of the opinion that the economic pattern of this country shall be a socialist economy." He did not bother about any 'ism'. He was more pragmatic than poetic or philosophic. "It is not a question of theory," he said, in 1949, "of communism or socialism or capitalism. It is a question of hard fact... I am not enamoured of these 'isms' and my approach is, and I should like to say the country's approach should be, rather a pragmatic approach in considering the problem and I want to forget the 'ism' attached to it. Our problem today is to raise the standard of the masses. Supply them with their needs, give them the wherewithal to lead a decent life, and help them to progress and advance in life not only in regard to material things but in regard to cultural and spiritual things also. What will happen in the distant future I do not know, but I should like to get them on the right road and do not care what 'ism' it is that helps me to get them on that road, provided I do it".<sup>20</sup>

Though Mr. Nehru was inspired by Karl Marx and Engels, he was never a communist. In his speeches in Singapore in June 1950, he called the communist movement in Asia as anti-nationalist. By 1952 he was against communists. On account of this he was respected as an antidote to the advance of communism in Asia, by the western leaders of his time.

Mr. Nehru's concept of socialism got some sort of shape in the Indian National Congress at Avadi in January 1955, in the form of socialistic pattern of society, as the great contribution to Indian socialism. By that time social ownership or control had become the essence of socialism.

Mr. Nehru's views on socialism may be summed up as follows :

(i) He wanted to increase the national wealth. Generally, socialism is considered as simply the distribution of the national wealth.



Mr. Nehru did not commit the same mistake. His concept of socialism, firstly, refers to the increase of the national wealth. Socialism is not the distribution of poverty but of increased wealth. In his Lucknow Congress Presidential speech in 1936 he said, "I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country and only thus I think will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combatted."

(ii) He was for an equitable distribution of national wealth. His concept of socialism aimed at minimising the gap between the rich and the poor. It was, generally, one of the objectives of the Five-Year Plans.

(iii) He was for the nationalization of defence and key industries and basic projects.

(iv) He was for mixed economy. The Five Year Plans were planned on the same economic base.

(v) His aim towards socialism was on the line of democratic method through parliament taking the people into confidence. His was democratic socialism, which means, in the words of Appadorai, "the substitution of co-operation in place of acquisitiveness, equal opportunities for growth for every one and the democratic process of peaceful and legitimate methods to achieve these two goals."<sup>21</sup>

(vi) Being a champion of democracy, he tried to mix up both the political and economic democracy, the heritage of the 19th century democratic socialism and Fabianism. The same was advocated by Kautsky, Mannheim and Laski. Nehru referred to it in Parliament on Dec. 15, 1952.

(vii) He was for the development of rural industries, the community development projects and the Khadi. In his presidential speech in the Lucknow Congress in 1936 he said, "yet I have co-operated wholeheartedly in the past with the *Khadi* programme and I hope to do so in the future, because I believe that *Khadi* village industries have a definite place in our present economy."

(viii) He believed in Planning, full employment and welfare state theory accepted by Pigou and the British Labour Party.

(ix) In an interview to the American United Press correspondent, in Simla, in 1945, Mr. Nehru talked about "progressive socialism" and stressed on agrarian reconstruction in India.

(x) He put-forth his views on co-operative farming in the Nagpur Congress in 1958.

(xi) In his Azad Memorial Lectures on "India Today and Tomorrow", Mr. Nehru stressed the point of synthesizing science and industry on the humanitarian principles of toleration and compassion.

(xii) Like Max Adler, Mr. Nehru believed in ethical socialism. There is an utopian element in the concept of Nehru's socialism. As he was the follower of and the true heir apparent to the ideologies of Gandhiji, it was but natural that he followed the passive, non-violent method as a means towards socialism.

Nehru's concept of socialism also could not avoid the common defects with which Indian socialism suffers. It was too vague and confused. He was neither an exclusive socialist, nor collectivist, nor capitalist nor even communist. His socialistic Pattern of Society was just a poetic expression without any definite economic base. Secondly, he may be described as an utopian socialist. His views on co-operative farming were criticised by the opposition party leaders in India. Even then his concept of socialism without compulsion can be considered as his unique contribution.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

MOHIT BHATTACHARYA, *Management of Urban Government in India*,  
(New Delhi, Uppal Book Store, 1976).

Urban management in India has assumed crucial significance. Rapid modernization and urbanization have thrown up immense and complex problems concerning the viability of urban services, planning and optimum land use and policy and law and order management problems. It is true that only about twenty per cent of our population lives in urban areas, but the absolute size of this urban population is large considering that it is more than eleven crores. It is in this context that the question of evolving a national policy on urban development deserves the urgent attention of our planners. Major problems like linkage of urban planning with national and state planning, reorganization of urban planning bodies, developing new sources of funds and efficient management of human and material resources need to be tackled with the utmost efficiency and priority. The book under review is primarily meant for specialists, bureaucratic elites as policy makers, teachers and students who are eager to use sophisticated analytical tools and techniques in the understanding of the problems of management of urban government in India. The discussion in this volume relates to the critical importance of administration in the face of the growing phenomenon of urbanization.

The book is schematically divided into fourteen chapters which cover a wide range of topics dealing with the problem of urbanization. Some chapters are devoted to municipal management, metropolitan organization and planning. Some others centre around urban planning, its organization and implementation and the planning of integrated delivery system for urban settlement patterns and slums are also given due prominence in the book. In the penultimate discussion the relationship between human habitat and the urbanization process is analysed and conclusions have been drawn. The study concludes with an interesting discussion on the role of citizen's participation in local management and the extent of civic consciousness which the people exhibit. The author presents his findings in a judicious manner by sharpening the focus on urban and metropolitan issues and by probing into the deeper

cross-currents of specific problems of municipal management and planning, urban services, settlement patterns and slums. However, the author could have also examined a number of other wider issues relating to urban management and development in view of the rise in the rate of economic advancement. What are the forces and factors that shape urban government in India? What are the main features of urban management? What is the nature of relationships between the Central, State and Local governments on the issue of management of urban government? Are the symptoms of urban slums and settlements indicative of the explosive situation? Is the trend towards metropolitan deconcentration in accordance with democratic decentralization and economic deconcentration? Some of these questions have not been adequately answered in the study.

The topics included in this book though dealing with different aspects of urbanization and urban management, yet have a common unifying theme. They are all directly linked with the problem of managing urban affairs. The discussions cover a wide spectrum examining critically major managerial issues involved in the processes of urbanization. Discarding and disregarding structure and history-oriented approach to urban problems, the author's discussion is academic and does not lack analytical rigour. The help of empirical studies combined with a conceptual frame of reference has enabled Mohit Bhattacharya to make some contribution towards theory-building in urban studies. The author comes to grips with the fundamentals of the problem. The book commends itself to the specialist as well as the common reader. It does not lack elan and it does not lack scholarship. All in all, the author's study deserves serious attention as his discussion is of considerable relevance to the contemporary urban situation in India.

V. T. PATIL

SUKHBIR CHOUDHARY, *The Truth About Chile*,  
(Sterling Publishers Pvt., Ltd., New Delhi, 1976).

The purpose of Dr. Sukhbir Choudhary's book is to examine and present an objective account of the Chilean developments in the last five years. The book is divided into seven chapters which deal with the forces and factors that shaped the revolution in Chile leading to the tragic assassination of Dr. Salvador Allende. The thesis of the book is that the revolution in Chile was the direct result of the machinations of monopoly capitalists within the country, covertly and overtly aided

and abetted by the Central Intelligence Agency and the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

Dr. Choudhary clearly brings out the radical measures introduced by Dr. Allende who was experimenting with socialism through democratic means. President Allende launched major programmes of socio-economic reform buttressed by the democratic process. He was not a doctrinaire socialist, and therefore, he strove hard to synthesise the best in democracy with the highest in socialism. It was a very bold experiment and had it succeeded its impact on the whole of Latin America would have been of great significance. However, it amply demonstrated that radicals could come to power by forging a broad national consensus through the instrumentality of elections. With a view to control the commanding heights of the economy, Dr. Allende nationalised copper, cement, steel, electricity, telephones, domestic and foreign banks. The new agrarian reform programme gave land and property to the peasants. He sanctioned liberal wage increases, put restrictions on excessive profits and made the people public sector conscious. According to Dr. Choudhary, however, there were a number of 'built in hurdles and draw backs'. The bourgeoisie dominated congress (Parliament), rightist parties like the National Party and the Christian Democratic Party, the conservative nature of the judiciary, were forces that were responsible for creating a serious crisis in Chile. Prices rose astronomically and *Unidad Popular* coalition consisting of communists and socialists was unable to redeem the situation. Rising prices and scarce goods alienated the middle class which included among others managers in factories, truck owners, doctors, lawyers and white collar workers. The United States alarmed by a Marxist government in Latin America put severe economic and political pressure on Chile. All these factors ultimately led to the revolution in Chile.

What are the prospects for real democracy in Chile? The Chilean oligarchy is a child of foreign interference and the Chilean left is leaderless and disorganised, and is consequently not in a position to play the role of an effective alternative or a counterweight. All this implies that real democracy has received severe setback and it will be long in coming to Chile.

Dr. Choudhary draws much of his material from original sources, books, journals and newspaper clippings. One important criticism of the book is that it largely confines itself to the author's main view point that the happenings in Chile were the result of external interference and internal manipulations by rightist forces. Apart from these



reasons, an objective study would have led to a more deeper probe into the impact of socio-economic forces within Chile as also a recognition of Dr. Allende's inability to keep together a national consensus for his radical measures, once it was forged. The author could have maintained the discussion at a high level by such a deeper analysis into the matrix of the problem. For instance, he could have raised such questions as to whether the revolution in Chile brought real freedom to the people, or when did the Chilean revolution begin and when did it end or was there revolutionary consciousness among the people to sustain the revolution over a period of years or was there a lack of leadership of a high order or why did the leadership fail to give a socio-economic content to the revolution? Had the author applied his mind to these questions the study would have become more scholarly. On the whole, the reviewer gets the impression that the book is exhortative rather than analytical. Dr. Choudhary has not made full use of his opportunities. He had on his hands material of which good books are made. He has used it to produce a turgid book, with too little of the human drama. He has done his homework well but falters while arranging his material and presenting his case in a manner that is convincing to the reader. His general interpretation of the events in Chile, though not original as it reflects neither the range nor complexity of the argument, yet the study being timely makes it interesting and absorbing. In spite of its inadequacies, the author's effort must be commended as an attempt to understand the changing universe of socio-economic and political problems of a Latin American country like Chile.

The lack of an index is a blemish which could have been easily avoided.

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